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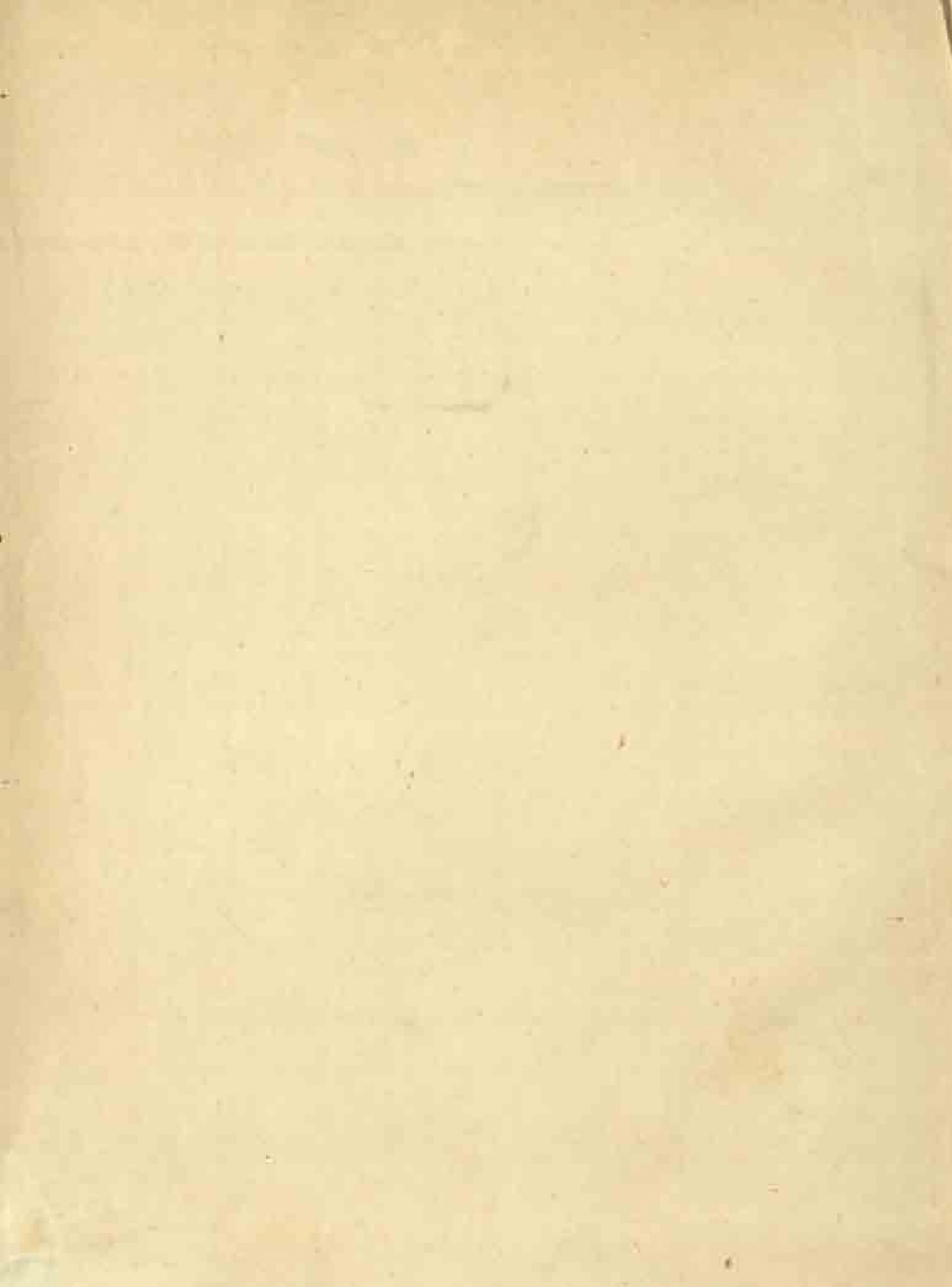
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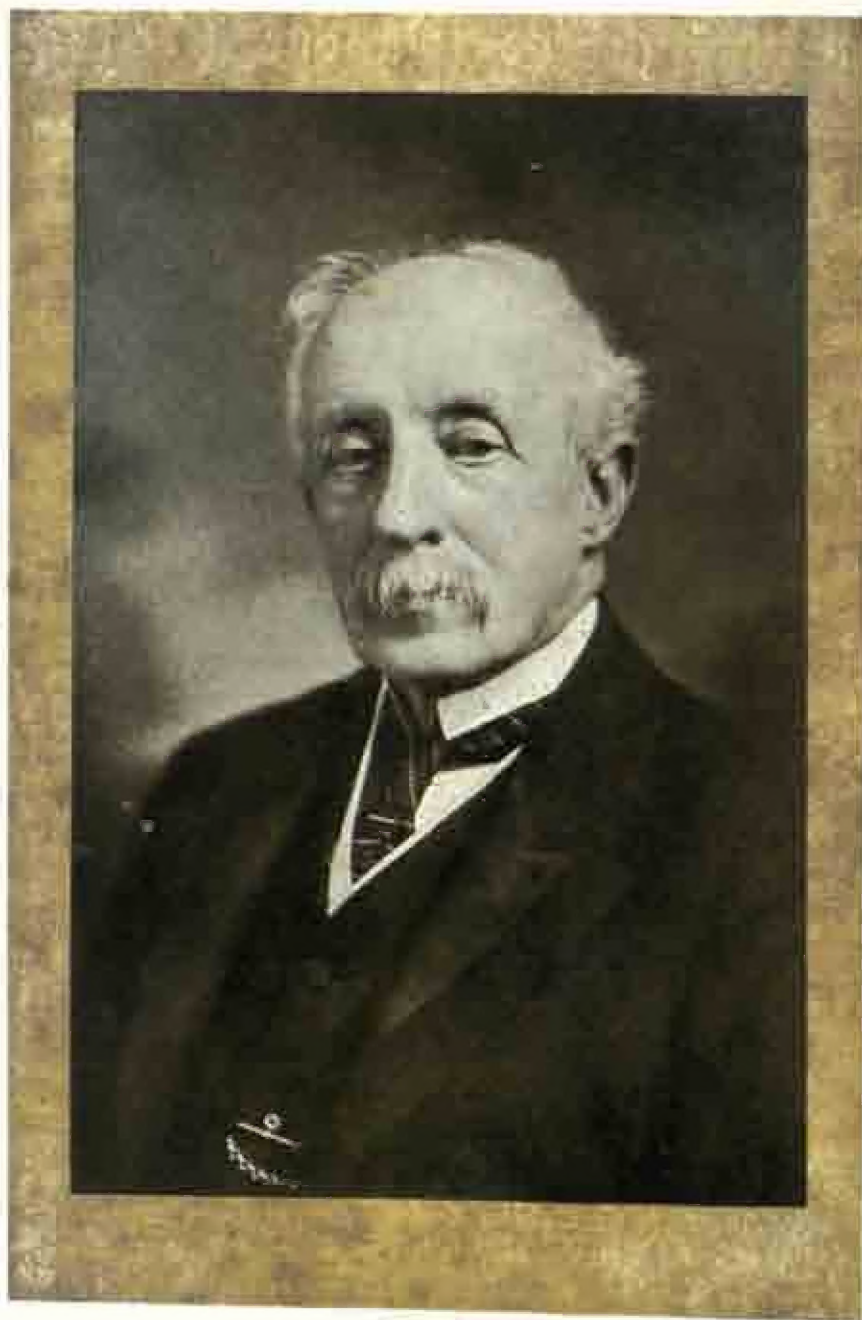
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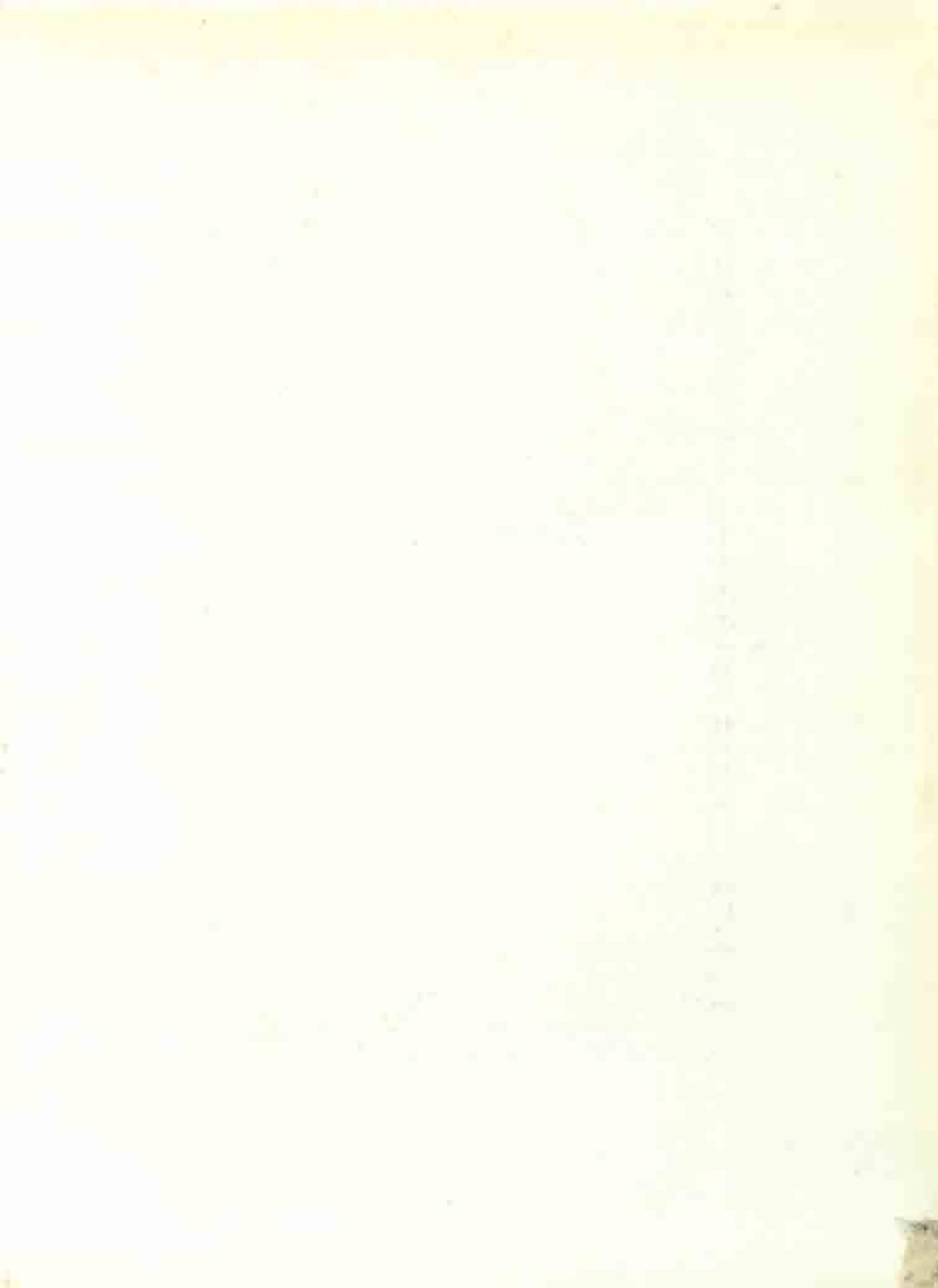
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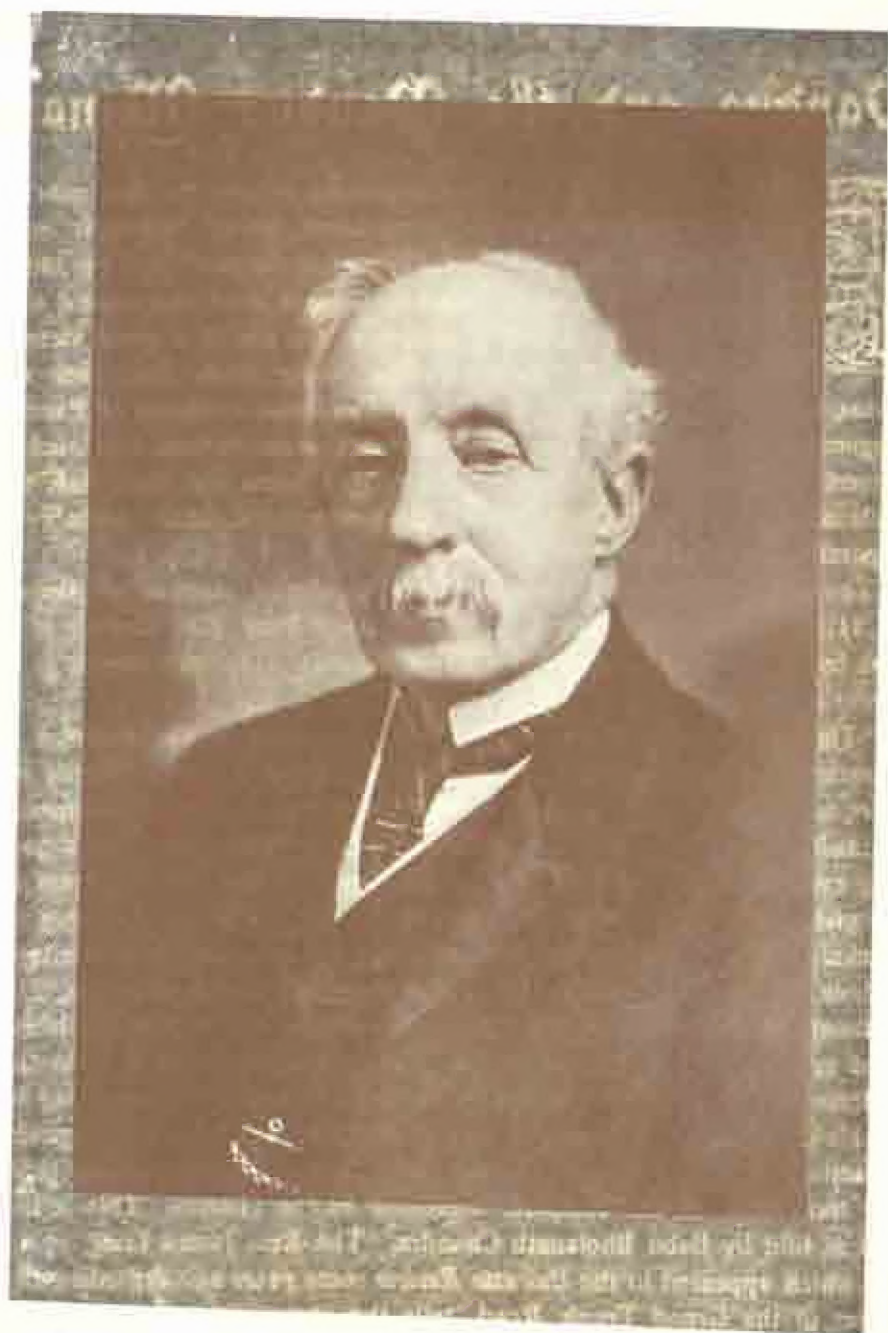
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Pandua and the Pandua Minar.



PANDUA is a large and important village, the headquarters of the *thana* of the same name, about seventeen miles north-west of Chinsura. Next to Satgaon, it is the oldest place in Hughli District. It was once the capital of a Hindu Raja, and is famous as the site of a great victory, gained by the Musalmans, under Shah Safi, over the Hindus, about A.D. 1340. The story of the Musalman conquest of Pandua is legendary rather than historical—though it seems certain that such a conquest did take place, and that the conqueror's name was Shah Safi, the details of the story are legendary, and the supernatural details probably a comparatively late addition.

The story is given by Hunter, in his *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. III., pp. 313-314. Hunter took the story from *The Travels of a Hindu* by Bholanath Chandra, Vol. I., pp. 141-145. Hunter's version is as follows:—

"The story goes that the Hindu Raja of Pandua on the occasion of the birth of an heir to his house, had given a great festival. One of his officers, a Musalman, who held the post of translator of Persian documents, also made a feast of his own at the same time, at which he killed a cow, taking care to bury the bones in an obscure part of the town, in order to avoid giving offence to the Hindu population. But the bones were dug up by jackals at night; and the next morning, on discovering the sacrilege, the whole town rose *en masse* and demanded vengeance on the offender. The unfortunate child of the Raja, being deemed unworthy to live with the blood of kine upon his head, was first killed. The people then turned upon the Musalman, who appealed to the Raja for protection, and not receiving it, made his escape to Delhi, when the Emperor despatched a large army against the Pandua Raja, and a war resulted, which raged for many years, and finally terminated in the complete overthrow of the Hindus. This is the legend as told by Babu Bholanath Chandra. The Rev. James Long, in an article which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* some years ago, regarding the localities of the Grand Trunk Road, tells the same story, but with the difference that the Musalman officer of the Raja was celebrating the birth of his own child, the latter being slain by the Hindus as a retaliation upon the father for having slaughtered a cow; and that it was to obtain revenge for the murder of his child that the father sought assistance from the Emperor at Delhi. This version of the story seems the more probable.

"A local tradition of the war between the Mohammedans and the Pandua Raja, relates that for a long time the Musalmans strove against the place in vain, as the town contained a sacred tank, the waters of which possessed the virtue of restoring life to the fallen soldiers of the Hindu garrison. The Mohammedan general, however, succeeded in destroying the all-healing powers of the tank, by throwing a piece of cow's flesh into it, and thereby defiling the water. The besieged Hindus could no more make use of their tank and were forced to surrender."

So runs the story, so told by Hunter. The local tradition, last quoted, is taken from an article in the *Calcutta Review* for 1850, on "Early Bengali Literature and Newspapers," and the writer of that article had himself borrowed it from the *Calcutta Asiatic Observer* of 1824. The Raja of Pandua had sought the assistance of the Raja of Munad (Mahnad) against the invaders. The miraculous tank, which was called the *Jhinch Kund*, was at Mahnad. As that place is only four miles from Pandua, if the two were under different rulers or Rajas, they must have been very petty principalities.

The Pandua *minar*, or tower, was built to commemorate the victory of the Musalmans, and is said to be the oldest building in Bengal. It is described as follows in the *List of Ancient Monuments*.—

"It is a round tower of five stages or storeys, each lessening in diameter, from 60 feet at the base to 15 at the top. The dimensions of the several stages will be best understood by being placed in a tabular form.

Upper storey,	diameter	12'	above,	15'	below;	height	18'
Fourth	"	23'	10"	"	26'	"	18'
Third	"	34'	8"	"	37' 5"	"	30'
Second	"	47'	6"	"	48' 1"	"	25'
Basement	"	58'	2"	"	60'	"	25'
TOTAL							116'
Pinnacle							9'
Total height							125'

"The outer face of each storey is ornamented with very flat convex flutes. In the centre of the building there is a circular staircase leading to the top. At the base of each successive storey there is a doorway leading out to a narrow terrace on the outside which runs all round. The entrance door of the basement storey is on the west side towards the *musjid*, which is 175 feet distant. On this account it is believed to have been the *Masina* or *Muazzin's* tower, from the top of which the faithful were called to prayers. There is no inscription on the building, and the people of course refer its



THE PANDUA MINAR PREVIOUS
TO ITS RESTORATION.



THE PANDUA MINAR AFTER ITS RESTORATION.
(Photo by F. B. Bradley Hist., Esq., C.S.)



THE MINA AT PARÍCUTA, 1870
(*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*)

erection to the holy saint Safiuddin whose tomb is close by: . . . The top-most portion tumbled down in the earthquake of 1885."

The tower consists of a solid core of masonry, in the centre of which is an iron rod, said by tradition to have been the walking stick of Shah Safi, Musalman General. It struck me at once, when first I saw the tower, that it was a copy, on a smaller scale and with inferior workmanship, of the Kutab at Delhi. It is, however, thicker in proportion to its height than the Kutab is.

The *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 39, 1870, contains pictures of the Pandua minar, and of the mosque in front of it, to the north-west. The minar appears to have been then in perfect preservation, even to the small pinnacle on the top; and the mosque, which had fallen wholly into ruins by 1900, seems to have been also in almost perfect preservation. I wrote the following description of the tower in 1906:—

Round the circular core there was once a circular staircase, but in the course of ages the steps have all been worn away, and there now remains a rough sloping ascent. There is no great difficulty in getting to the top. I went up on the 12th December 1900, but it is rather a scramble, and anyone doing so would be the better of a light, as it is pitch dark inside the tower. Round the circular stair is an outer wall of masonry. About ten feet above the ground is a recess, some six feet high by four broad, in the outer wall, which is here about eight feet thick. At the top of the third storey the stair opens out into what was once a circular gallery round the tower, but it is now so overgrown with bushes and jungle that it is impossible to go round it. On the top of the fourth storey there was once a similar gallery, overgrown now with jungle in the same way; there is now only sufficient room to sit down in the opening of the stair here. Up to the top of the third storey the stair is very dark, with only two small loopholes, and full of bats.

In 1906 the Pandua minar was taken on the Government list of monuments to be kept in repair, and it was thoroughly repaired during the first three months of 1907. It now consists of five stories, a cupola, and pinnacle. The fifth story, cupola and pinnacle, of the old tower, had fallen in the earthquake of 1885. A bank of earth, some six feet high, was heaped up round the base of the tower. The circular stair inside the tower was rebuilt from bottom to top, and the loopholes in the outer wall were cleared out and repaired, so that the staircase is now well lit, and it is now quite easy to go from the bottom to the top. The circular galleries round the base of each story were repaired, and parapets made round them. A fifth story, some twenty feet high, was added on; a cupola some six feet high above that, and a pinnacle ornament, another six feet high, on top of all. The height of the

tower, to the top of the pinnacle, is now 127 feet; and there are now 161 steps, as follows:—

To first Gallery	...	...	...	28	steps.
To second "	...	...	...	26	"
To third "	...	...	...	48	"
To fourth "	...	...	...	29	"
To interior of cupola	...	...	...	30	"
TOTAL				161	"

The whole *minar* was also replastered and whitewashed. Unfortunately this renovation has given the appearance of a brand new erection to what was formerly a venerable ruin. The Bengal monsoon rains, however, may be trusted to remove this spick and span appearance within a few years.

The mosque on the north-west was cleared out at the same time, all the rubbish, fallen brickwork, and jungle, being cleared away. It appears quite beyond repair now.

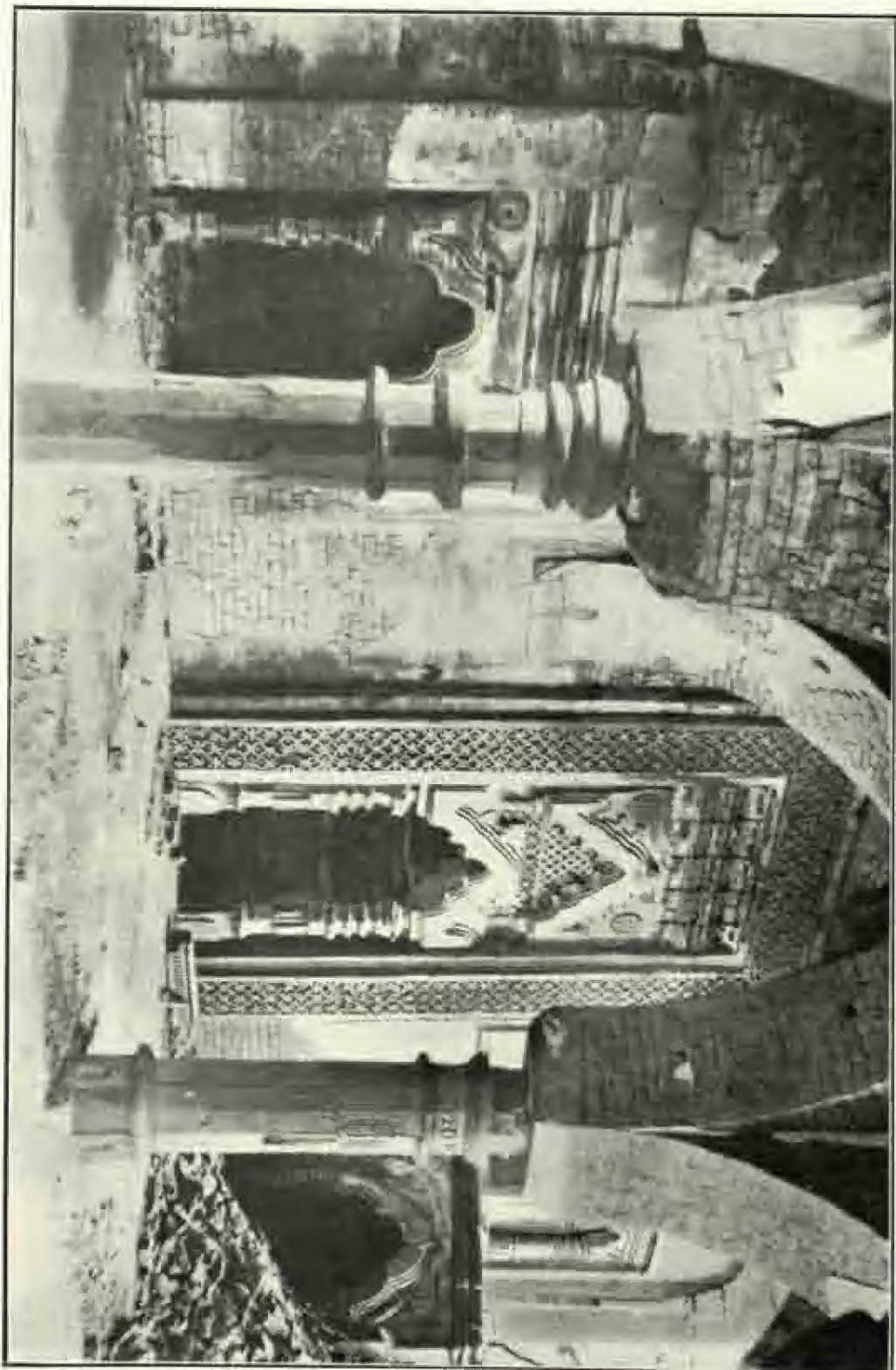
The minaret can be well seen from the railway, looking out to the north-east, as the train approaches Pandua from the south. It is also a very conspicuous object to any one approaching Pandua by the road from Kalna, from the north-east; but it is not easily seen in the village itself. It stands about a hundred yards east of the fourth furlong of the 42nd mile of the Grand Trunk Road.

North-west of the minaret are the ruins of a large mosque, said to have had sixty domes, a few of which are still standing, though most of the building has fallen down, and much of the ruins has been cleared away. A number of large black oblong roughly carved stones may also be seen some worked into the mosque, or acting as pillars, others lying on the ground. Probably these were once part of an older Hindu temple.

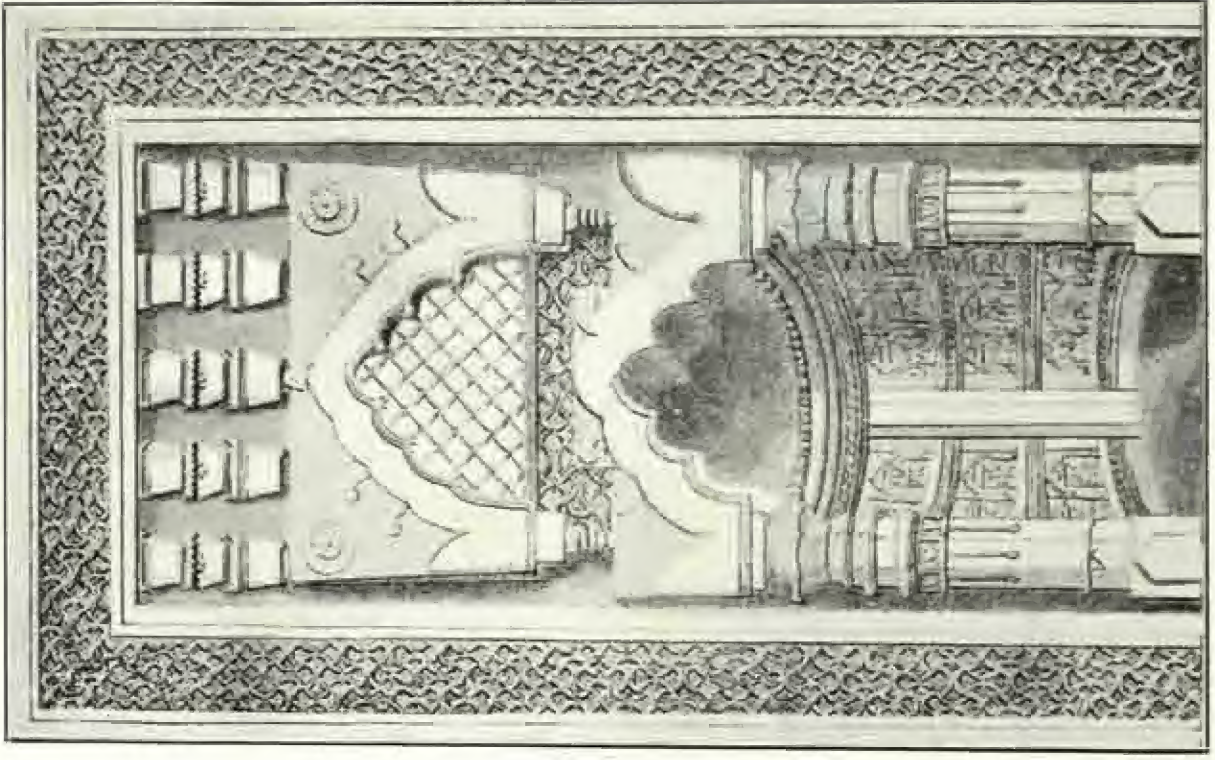
About a hundred yards east of the tower is a large tank, with a mosque on its east bank. An inscription on the mosque shows that it is about 200 years old. East of the mosque again is a small Mussalman cemetery, walled in, but falling into decay. This mosque has also recently been repaired.

On the west of the Grand Trunk Road, opposite the tower, is a white-washed tomb, of no architectural pretensions or beauty, said to be that of Shah Safi alias Safudin Sultan, the Conqueror of Pandua.

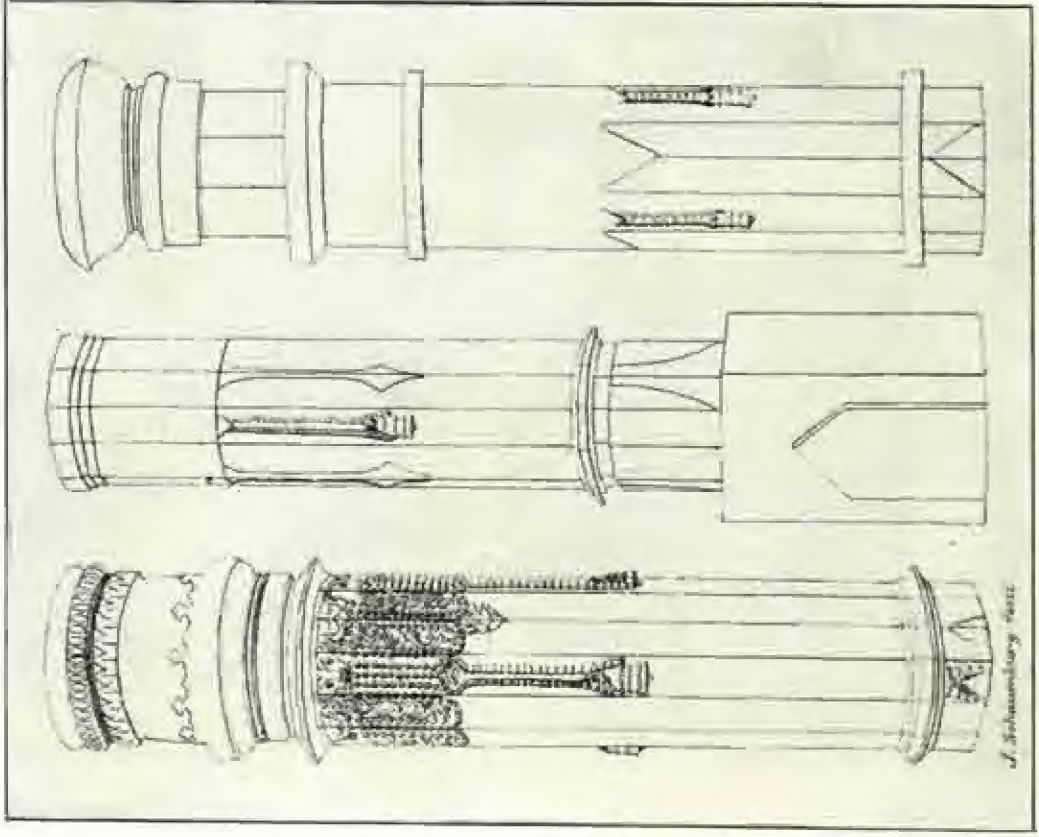
Local tradition calls the Hindu King, whom Shah Safi overthrew, Pandu. The article, above quoted, from the *Calcutta Review* of 1850, gives his name as Pandraja. The supposed site of the battlefield is known as "*Jang maidan*,"



MOSQUE AT PANDYA



NICHE IN THE PANDUA MOSQUE.
(*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870.*)



THE BELL ORNAMENTS WITH BELL ORNAMENTS
IN THE PANDUA MOSQUE.
(*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1870.*)

or battlefield, and a tank excavated to celebrate the victory is called "*Fateh Allah*," or God's victory.

The date of the Musalman conquest is supposed to have been about A.D. 1340. The rulers of Delhi, during the fourteenth century, were—

Taghlak	...	...	1316—1325
Muhammad Taghlak	...	...	1325—1350
Firuz Shah	...	...	1350—1388

A large *mele*, or religious fair, is held at Pandua on the 1st of *Magh* (middle of January), and a smaller one on the 1st of *Baisakh* (middle of April) every year. At the former the attendance is about 10,000; chiefly Musalmans. In 1824 seventy persons were crushed to death in the tower, owing to one man falling, those below trying to get up, and those below trying to get down.

West of Pandua is a large tank, believed to be forty feet deep, called the *Pir Pokhar* or saint's tank. It is surrounded by ruined tombs, supposed to be those of Musalmans who fell during the war of invasion.

It is said that Pandua was once fortified by a wall and a trench, five miles in circumference. Maps of fifty years ago show a fortification, a wall or *band* completely surrounding the village. I have been out of and into Pandua, on all sides, north, south, east and west, dozens of times, but have never seen any traces of this circumvallation; unless an old *band*, running from the railway, a little north of the station, to the Grand Trunk Road, forms the remains of it.

Pandua suffered terribly from the epidemic fever which ravaged Bengal in the fifties and sixties of last century. This epidemic, in its slow westward march, reached Pandua in July 1862; upwards of 1,200 of the inhabitants of the village died during the next six months. By 1869 it is said 3,200 had died out of a population of less than 7,000.

Pandua is the chief Musalman centre in the district of Hughli, the population of which is almost entirely Hindu. Four-fifths of the total district population are Hindus; Pandua is the only place of any size in the district where Musalmans preponderate. Here they form the great majority. The Musalmans of Pandua chiefly belong to the upper classes, or *Ashraf* as they are called, and are generally known as *Aimadars*, from *Aima*, a grant, bestowed by the Moghal Government for services rendered by their forefathers. During the early years of British rule, when the British officers' duties were chiefly confined to the collection of revenue, and judicial authority was left in the hands of *Kasis*, or Musalman judges, these *Kasis* were often chosen from among the *Aimadars* of Pandua; and the post of *Kazi-ul-Kazat* (*Kazi* of *Kasis*, or chief *Kazi*) was for some time hereditary in a Pandua family the last holder of the post being *Kazi* Muhammad Mazhar. The Musalmans

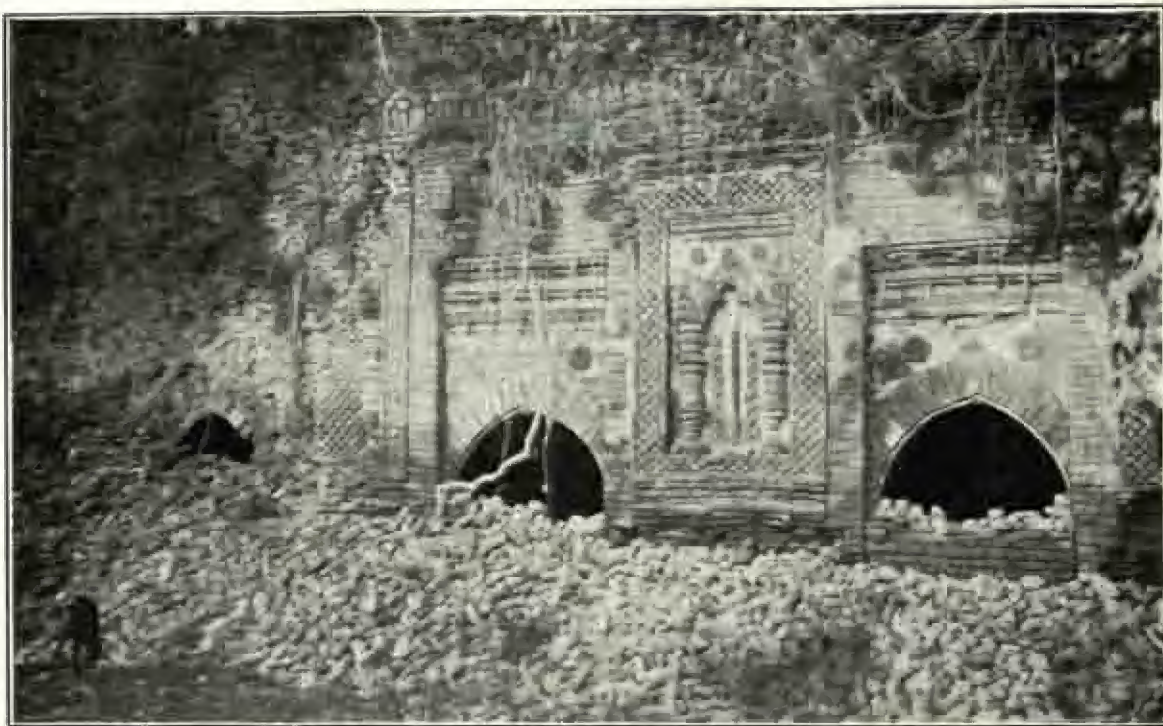
of Pandua are said, no doubt with truth, to be chiefly descended from the officers and soldiers who invaded Bengal under Shah Safi in the fourteenth century.

Even in its modern decay, Pandua is still a large and important village. It is the headquarters of a *thana*, and forms a municipal union. The station is a fairly large one, all trains, except the mails, stop at it. There is a Public Works Department resthouse in the village, also an English school, and a biweekly dispensary, a branch of the Bhola Nath Bose dispensary at Mandalai is held on *hdt* (market) afternoons, Sundays and Wednesdays.

Mahnad, more properly Mahanath (the great Lord), is a large village, situated partly in Pandua and partly in Polba *thana*, four miles south of Pandua. As stated above, it is said to have been the capital of another Raja, who assisted the Pandua Raja against the Musalmans; possibly the two villages formed one town at that time. If so, all traces of the buildings filling the space between the two have disappeared. The miraculous tank may still be seen, and is now known as the "*Jibat Kund*," or tank of life. There are temples of Brahmomoyo and Shiva in the village. At the latter a festival, known as the Mahmad *Jath* (an Uriya word for festival), is held in the month of February, on the *Shivaratri*, the fourteenth day after the full moon in the month of Phalgun. The Bengal Rural Mission of the United Free Kirk has a station at Mahnad, and keeps up a school and a small dispensary. Five district roads meet in the village. Mahnad station on the Bengal Provincial Railway is about a mile south of the village.

Dwarbasini is a small village about four miles west and a little south of Mahnad, and so is eight miles from Pandua. This place also has a legend almost identical with those of Pandua and Mahnad. The legend was furnished to me by Babu Satkauri Ghosh, Headmaster of Dwarbasini School. It runs as follows :—

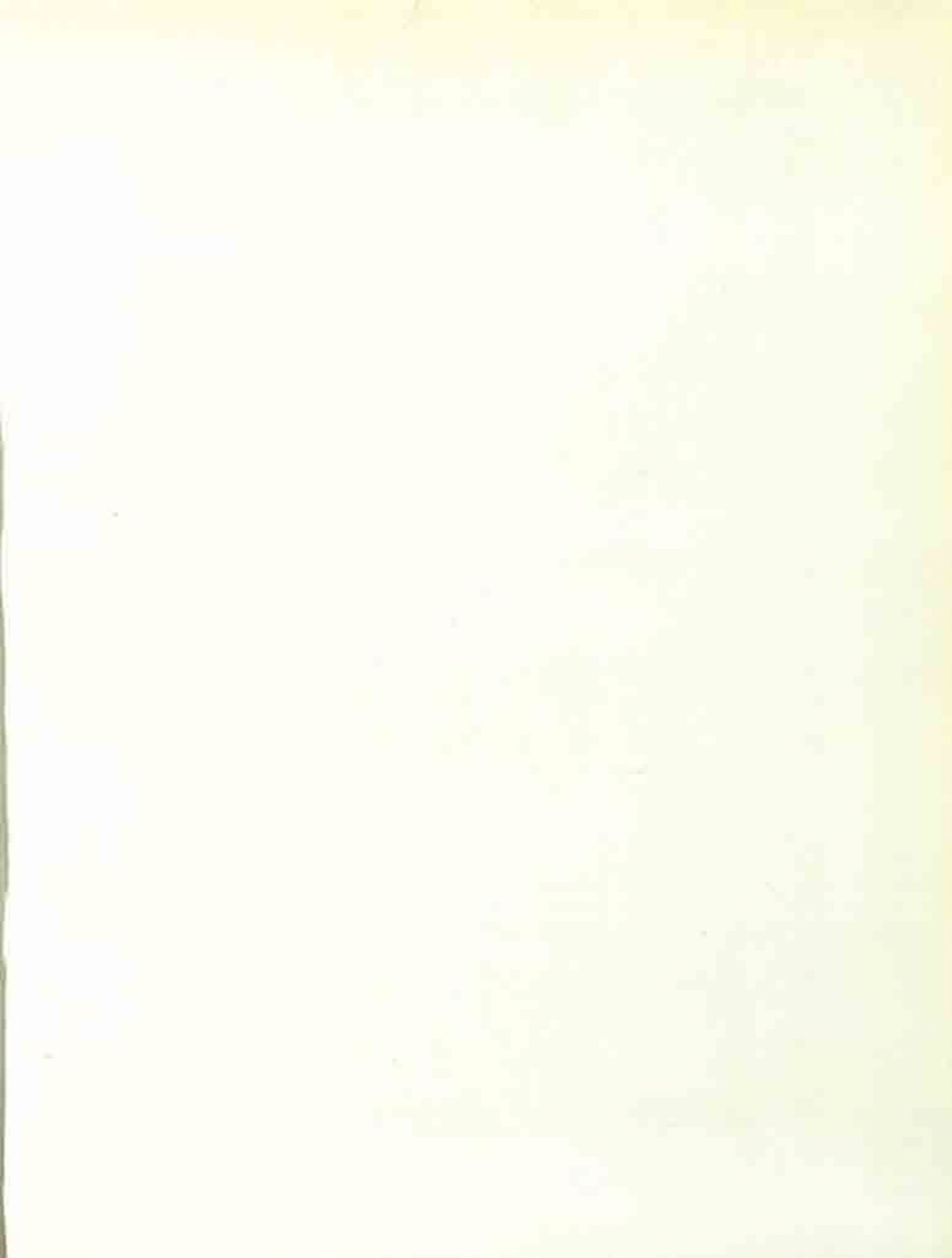
At the time of the Musalman invasion of Bengal, a line of Hindu kings of the Satgop caste held their capital at Dwarbasini. The last of them was named Dwar Pal. His kingdom was invaded by a Musalman general named Muhammad Ali. The first battle fought was indecisive. In Dwar Pal's palace enclosure was a tank called the *Jibat kund*, or tank of life, which had the power of curing the wounds of all who bathed in it, and even of restoring to life the bodies of those slain in battle if they were placed in the sacred water. A Musalman saint named Saha Jokai got leave from Dwar Pal to bathe in this tank, and entered the water with a piece of beef hidden in his clothes; the pollution of the tank caused by this beef deprived the water of its healing powers. Bereft of its help, Dwar Pal was utterly defeated in a second battle, after which he and all his family burned themselves on a funeral pyre within his palace, which was thus reduced to a heap of ruins, known as *Dhan pata*.



RUINS OF MOSQUE AT PANDUA.

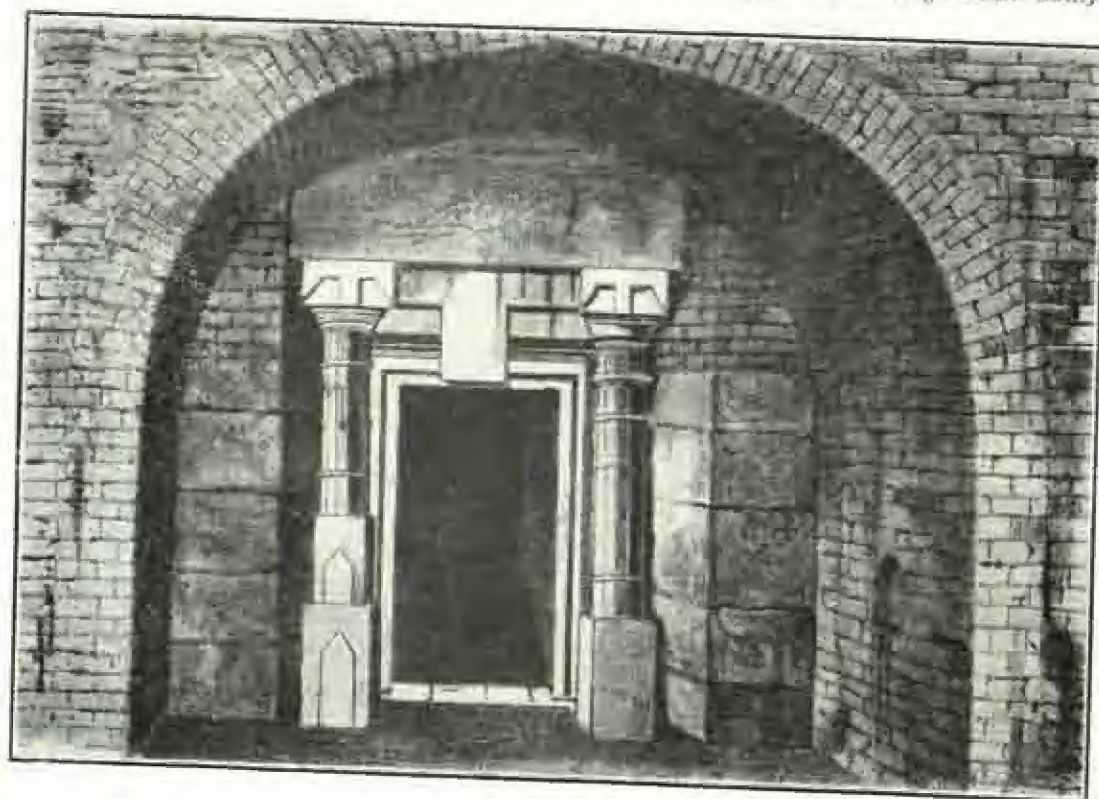


RUINS OF MOSQUE AT PANDUA.





THE INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE OF PANDUA IN 1870.
(*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.)



ENTRANCE TO THE TOWER OF PANDUA, 1870.
(*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*.)

Before his death he predicted that, whenever a respectable Hindu of the Satgop caste should come to live at Dwarbasini, he would become its king. It is said that, as long as the Musalman rule lasted, no Satgop was ever allowed to settle there.

The tank now shown as the *Jibat kund* is only a small shallow pond, on the south side of a much larger tank known as *kamana* (prayer-fulfilling). A small tomb on the east of the *Jibat kund* is said to be that of the *Pir Saha Jokai*. It is in good repair, having been renewed within the last twenty years. Another large tank, a little to the east, now divided by cross *bunds* into three small tanks, is called *Chandra kup* (tank of moonshine). Some distance to the north are another large tank called *Papharan* (sin removing) and a series of seven tanks called *Sat Satin*, after the Raja's seven wives. On the south-east of Dwarbasini is a slightly raised mound composed of broken brick, known as the *garh*, or fort. All over the village, a little below the surface, are the remains of brick houses and walls, with many filled up wells; and local tradition says that much treasure has from time to time been dug up, as well as many broken sculptured stones.

Nowadays Dwarbasini is a small, decayed, and very poor village. It contains a school and an outpatient dispensary, the latter is chiefly maintained by Raja Piar Mohan Mukerjea, C.S.I., of Uttarpara, who owns much property in the neighbourhood. Dwarbasini Station on the Bengal Provincial Railway is about a mile south of the main village. Another mile or so to the south-east, in Sathan village stands one of the towers of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. Between Dwarbasini village and the railway line may be seen the ruins of an indigo factory, the chimney of which is still standing. All over Hughli district may be seen the remains of indigo factories; the vats, specially their floors, last a very long time; but this is the only one I have seen where the chimney remains standing. Indigo cultivation in this district died out about 1830 to 1840.

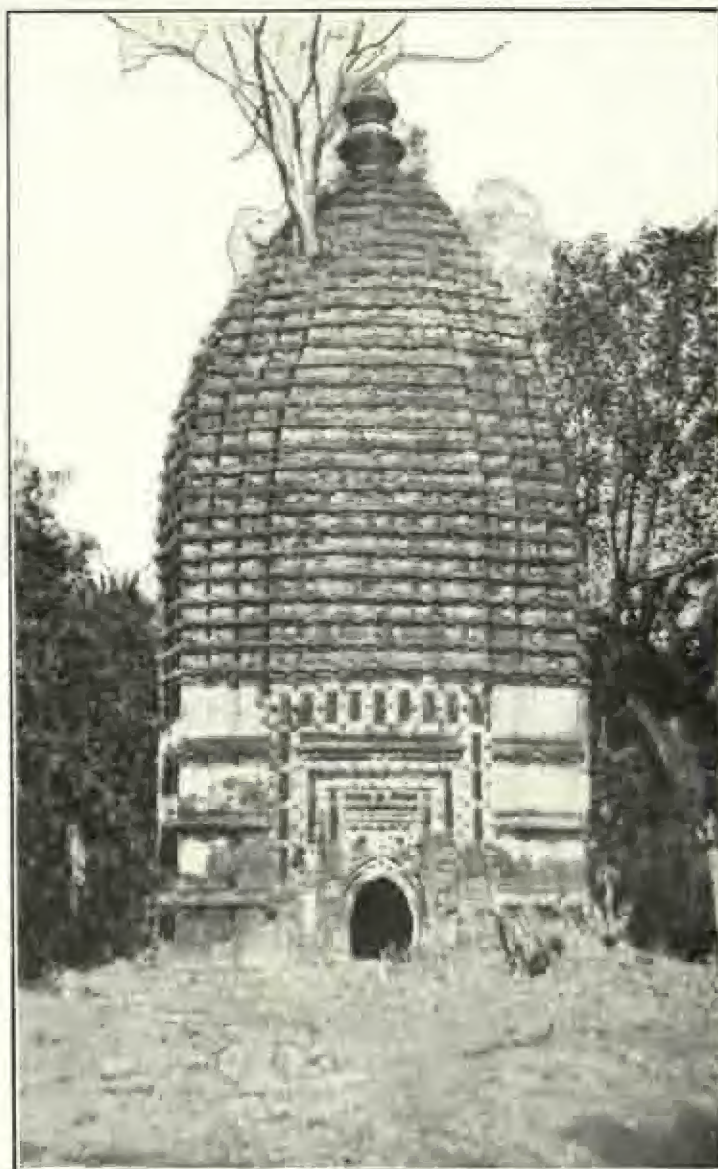
Dwarbasini, like Pandua, suffered terribly from the epidemic fever, which first attacked the village in 1863, about a year after it reached Pandua. In 1869 it was reported that 1,900 out of 2,700 inhabitants of Dwarbasini had died during the last six years, and that out of the 800 remaining barely one-fourth were in good health.

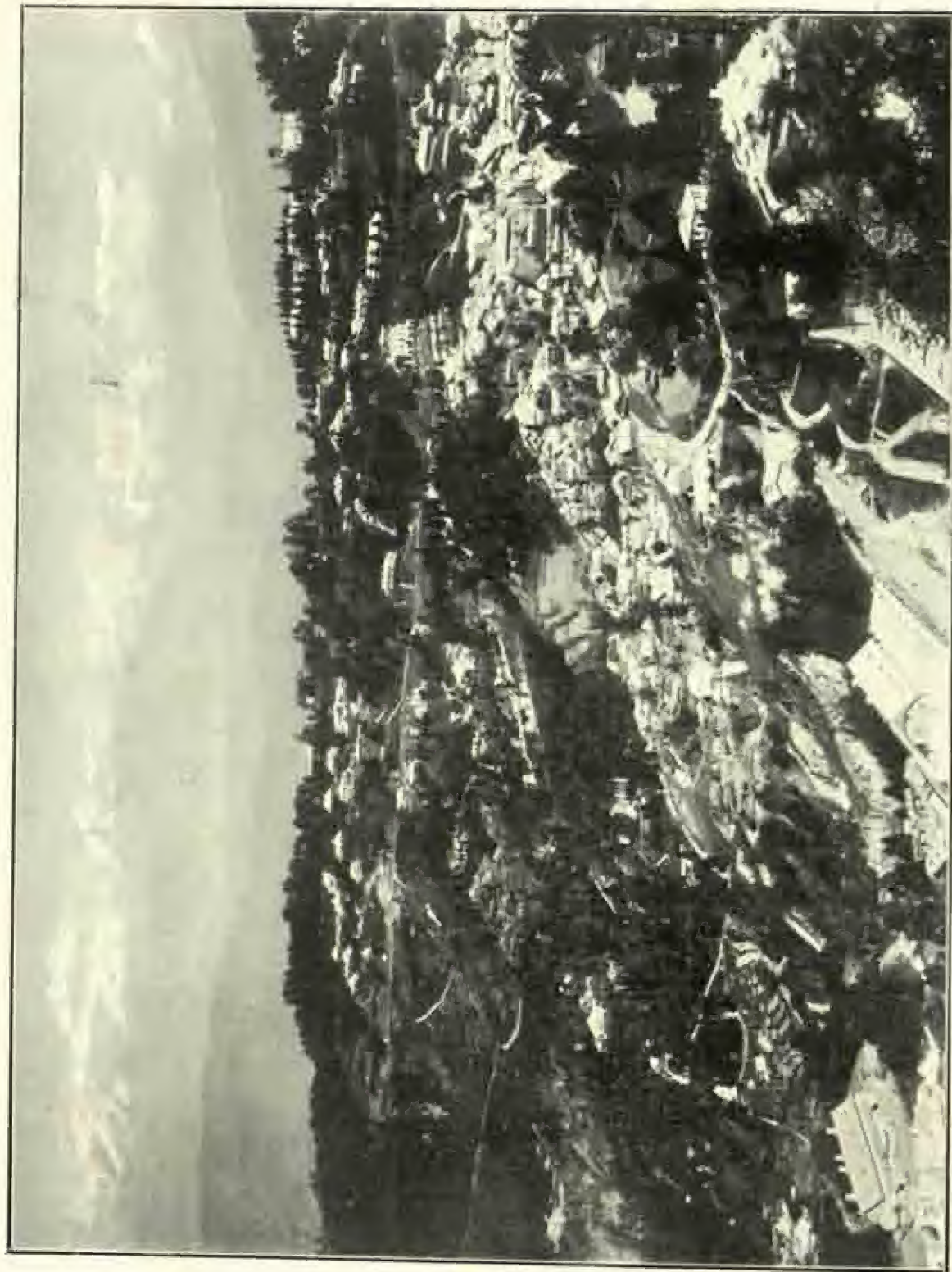
Bainchi is a considerable village about five and a half miles north-west of Pandua, and about a mile and a half east of Bainchi Station on the East Indian Railway. There are an inpatient dispensary and a Higher English School here maintained by endowment. Babu Bihari Lal Mukerjea, a wealthy trader and *semindar* who lived at Bainchi and died in the seventies of last century, left a lakh and a half of rupees for the maintenance of the school and dispensary. The bulk of his property was left to his widow for

life. She survived him for about thirty years, dying on 18th December 1905, when the whole property fell in to Government as a trust for charitable purposes. The school has since been moved into the family residence of its founder. In the compound of this house are two old Hindu temples with high conical roofs. A small inscription on one of them states that it was erected in the year 1604 *Sakabda*. This would be A.D. 1683. The *Sakabda* era is the era of Vikramaditya. Here and there in the village of Bainchi are several small temples, built of beautifully moulded bricks. One of the G.T.S. towers was built at Niala, a small village three miles north-east of Bainchi. It fell in the earthquake of 1885 and is now represented only by a rough mound of ruins.

D. G. CRAWFORD,
Lieut.-Col., I.M.S.







DARJEELING IN 1908,
(Photo. by Major. Rivers & Shepherd.)

Notes on Old Darjeeling.

*To breathe the air of Sikkim free,
To wander by her purling rills ;
And seek the beauty of her hills
The blueness of her sky.*

(Colman Macaulay : *Lay of Lachen.*)



THE term "old" as applied to so comparatively modern a town as Darjeeling is somewhat of a misnomer when compared with some of the subjects dealt with in the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*, yet the growth has been so considerable and the changes so many, that it may be of interest to reproduce an old map of Darjeeling and add some notes on the early inhabitants of this now fashionable hill station of Bengal. The old map, a copy of which is here reproduced, was shown to the writer by Mr. L. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., (the Editor of the present series of "Bengal Gazetteers") and was found in an old volume entitled *The Bengal and Agra Guide and Gazetteer* for 1841 (Calcutta, William Ruston and Company).

To understand it a brief reference is needed to the early history of Darjeeling and for this we can take no better guides than the chapter in Mr. O'Malley's recent *Gazetteer of Darjeeling* and an old *Handbook of Darjeeling*, published in 1863 by Captain J. G. Hathorn, R.A. (Calcutta, 1863, R. C. Lepage, 1, Tank Square).

EARLY HISTORY.

The history of Darjeeling is a late chapter in the extension of British rule in India. Before the year 1816 what is now the district of Darjeeling was in possession of the Nepalese, having been forcibly taken from the people of Sikkim. At the end of the war with Nepal (on 4th March 1816) it was ceded to the East India Company by the treaty of Segouli, and on 10th February 1817 by the treaty of Titalya the territory so ceded was made over by the British to the Sikkim Raja. This "treaty covenant or agreement" was made between Captain Barre Latter, "Agent on the part of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Earl of Moira, K.G., Governor-General, etc.," and certain named "deputies on the part of the Raja of Sikkimputtee." Disputes,

however, continued to occur from time to time and in 1828 the Governor-General deputed Captain Lloyd along with Mr. J. W. Grant* of the Civil Service to effect a settlement. They went to Darjeeling and apparently settled matters for the time. In a report, dated 18th June 1829, Lloyd claimed to have been the first European to have visited what he called "the old Goorkha Station of Darjeeling." He spent six days there in February 1829 and was immediately struck "with its being well-adapted for the purpose of a sanitarium." He also commented on "its strategical position as commanding the entrance to Nepal and Bhutan."

Owing to the numerous Nepalese raids the once flourishing Sikkim village of Darjeeling had been deserted by its inhabitants and little remained but the ruins of an old temple or Buddhist monastery. This was situated on the top of what is now called "Observatory Hill" in the centre of the present station. Later on this *gumpa* was rebuilt, and still later it fell into ruins, and a new *gumpa* was built, which still exists, in the *Bhutia busti*, on the road down to the cantonment at Lebong. This ruined temple is the one referred to in the *Gazetteer* of 1841 as the "old ruin" and was long a landmark in the neighbourhood. A Buddhist "*chorten*" still crowns this hill and numerous prayer flags still flutter their prayers in the wind.

The representations of Lloyd and Grant were not neglected by Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, who soon after in 1830 deputed Captain Herbert, the Deputy Surveyor-General, and Mr. Grant to explore the tract and report to him. They soon reported, and, as the old *Gazetteer* says—"Occupation was strongly advocated and the various capabilities of the place pointed out."

The Court of Directors having been consulted and having agreed, Captain Lloyd received orders to "on the first convenient occasion" reopen negotiations with the Sikkim Raja. The "convenient occasion" soon arose owing to a raid made by some Lepcha refugees from Nepal into Sikkim and on 1st February 1835 the Raja of Sikkim executed a deed of grant and "out of friendship for the Government of the Company" he presented "Darjeeling to the Governor-General for the purpose of enabling the servants of his Government suffering from sickness to avail themselves of its advantages." The cession of the then uninhabited mountain was unconditional,

*J. W. Grant became a "writer" in 1805, a "senior merchant" in 1816, was afterwards Commercial Resident at Malda, and in 1833 "Export Warehouse Keeper." He retired in 1849 and devoted himself to astronomy and built for himself an observatory. He died on 17th September 1865. Readers of that blend of sense and sensibility *The Journal of Mrs. Fenton* (1826-1830), will remember how much mention is made of Mr. and Mrs. Grant during the six months Mrs. Fenton (then Mrs. Campbell) lived with her friends the Gouldsburies at Malda. Mr. Grant is described as a "well-informed and agreeable man and a Highlander," and his visits to the "Nepal Hills" are several times referred to.

but in 1841 the Government granted the Raja an allowance of Rs. 3,000 as compensation and afterwards raised it to Rs. 6,000.

Soon after Lloyd and Dr. Chapman (one of the medical officers of the Calcutta General Hospital) were sent to spend the winter of 1836-37 in Darjeeling and to report on its fitness as a sanitarium, and in 1840 the District of Darjeeling became officially recognised as a "District" by the appointment of Dr. Archibald Campbell to be "Superintendent of Darjeeling and in charge of political relations with Sikkim."

THE MEN WHO MADE DARJEELING.

The three men to whom Darjeeling is indebted for its existence and development are Lloyd, Grant and Campbell. Lloyd and Grant discovered it and were the first Europeans to tread those hills, it was to Lloyd's influence with the Raja of Sikkim that the cession of the hill territory was made,* and to Dr. A. Campbell Darjeeling is indebted not only for the successful development of the place, but for the introduction of the great industry of these hills—the tea plantations.

An old report, written in 1852, by a Judge of the Supreme Court, is quoted by O'Malley; in it full credit is given to Campbell. It runs: "He found Darjeeling an inaccessible tract of forest....by his exertions an excellent sanitarium has been established for troops and others, a Hill Corps has been formed for the maintenance of order, seventy European houses have been built, with a bazar, jail and buildings for the sick of the depôt; a revenue of Rs. 50,000 has been raised and is collected punctually, a system of administration of Justice has been introduced.....forced labour has been abolished, the cultivation of tea and coffee introduced and various European fruits and grapes; in short, I may say that to him the Government is indebted for the formation of the district of Darjeeling."

Dr. Archibald Campbell was born in Scotland on 20th April 1805 and was therefore 35 years of age when appointed Superintendent of Darjeeling. He was educated in Edinburgh and took his M.D. degree there in 1826. On 6th May 1827 he received his commission in the Bengal Medical Service. He had acted as Residency Surgeon in Nepal when Brian Hodgson was Political Officer, and in 1840 he was appointed first "Superintendent of Darjeeling," where he spent the next 22 years, retiring in February 1862, with 35 years' service. He died on 5th November 1874. He published a book (8vo. Calcutta, 1848) entitled "*Routes from Darjeeling to Tibet and Itinerary from Pharo in Tibet to Lassa*," and numerous articles in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

* This is recorded on General Lloyd's memorial tablet in St. Andrew's Church, Darjeeling.

Captain Hathorn (*Handbook* of 1863) writes of Campbell and his work as follows :—

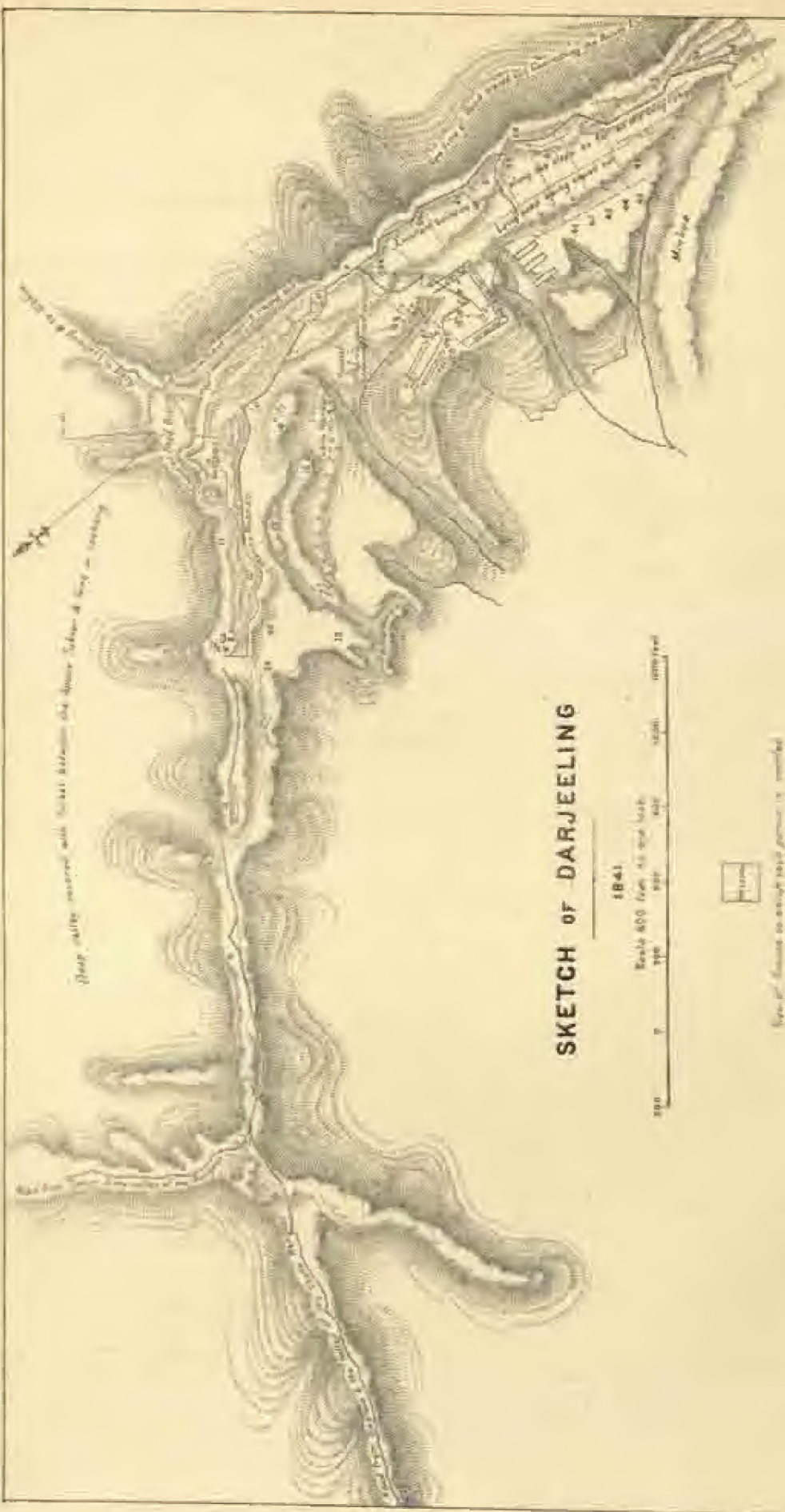
" Agreeable and courteous in manner, able and judicious in mind, energetic and enterprisingit is to Dr. Campbell that Darjeeling mainly owes its past progress and present position. For two and twenty years he wisely wielded the sceptre of this little principality and when at length he laid it down and exchanged the cares of office for rest and retirement in his native land, he left Darjeeling with the kindly wishes and grateful remembrances of all who had ever known him. When Dr. Campbell took charge, there were not 20 families [' 100 souls ' says another account] in the whole tract of hills, there is now (1863) a population of 20,000." [In 1901 the population of the Darjeeling District was 249,117.]

TROUBLE WITH SIKKIM.

For Campbell's first nine years there was nothing of political importance to disturb the even course of affairs in Darjeeling, but in 1848 Dr. (now Sir) Joseph Dalton Hooker (the still surviving veteran) came to Darjeeling and the Governor-General had specially asked the Sikkim Raja to give him every assistance in his botanical inquiries. Instead, however, of doing so the Raja, or rather his Dewan, (generally called the *Pagla Dewan*) systematically placed every obstacle he could in Hooker's path. Campbell therefore determined to join Hooker and interview the Raja. Campbell and Hooker reached Toomlong, the then capital of Sikkim, on 3rd November 1849, but the Raja totally ignored them. They therefore left the next day and on 7th November they were both seized by a body of 90 Sikkimese soldiers and made prisoners, and Campbell was very roughly treated and tortured. The story is graphically told by Hooker in his *Himalayan Journals* (Chapters XXV and XXVI). Military preparations were begun at Darjeeling when the news reached there, but Campbell and Hooker were not released till they had been in captivity for six weeks.

As a punishment for this unprovoked outrage the territory of the Sikkim terai was taken back by the Company from the Raja. This was effected by four policemen who entered the treasury and found there exactly six rupees ! The boundary between Sikkim and British territory was also fixed at the Rungeet river, where it still remains.

After this nothing of special importance took place till 1860, when Campbell reported that the Sikkimese had set our authority at defiance, had prohibited trade and systematically kidnapped and made slaves of British subjects. Campbell was then ordered to seize certain portions of Sikkim till the demands for redress were agreed to. In November 1860 he marched



Deep valley covered with forest between the lower slopes of hills in background

SKETCH OF DARJEELING

1841

Scale 800 feet to an inch
 1000 900 800 700 600 500 400 300 200 100 0



One of houses on each side of river is marked

into Sikkim with three other Europeans and 100 men of the local Darjeeling "Sebundy Sappers" and reached Richinpong, a village about 40 miles from Darjeeling. He was here fiercely attacked and was forced to retire owing to his ammunition being exhausted and on hearing reports of a threatened attack on Darjeeling. The retreating little force was badly mauled in a defile 6 miles from camp, and the retreat became a flight till they met a detachment sent out to their aid. For some days there was considerable excitement in Darjeeling, but a force was soon organised and put under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. Gawler,* F.R.G.S., of the 73rd Foot.

THE EXPEDITION OF 1861.

This force consisted of a battery of Mountain Artillery, 2 Naval howitzers, 400 men of the 6th Royal Regiment, 5 companies of the 73rd N.I., a wing of the 3rd Sikhs and 290 men of the Sikh Police (now 45th Sikhs). The force crossed the Rungeet on 2nd February 1861. The enemy offered but feeble resistance and the chief difficulty was in the desertion of the transport coolies. The force reached Toomlong on 9th March and the young Raja came down from Chumbi to meet them, and a treaty was signed by the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, "the Envoy and Special Commissioner" and "Sekeong Kuzoo, the Maharaja of Sikkim" on 28th March 1861.

The treaty consisted of 23 articles and made arrangements for trade, delivery of defaulters and criminals, etc., and the Maharaja expressed his sincere regret for the misconduct of his servants and subjects and agreed to pay an indemnity.†

We need not continue the history of Darjeeling after 1861.‡

* A very interesting account of this expedition into Sikkim (which in 1849 Sir Charles Napier had pronounced to be "impracticable for British Troops") was given by the Commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel John Cox Gawler, in a book published by Edward Stanford (London, 1873), entitled "Sikkim, with hints on Mountain and Jungle Warfare." Gawler was afterwards made Keeper of the Crown Jewels in the Tower of London and died on 31st July 1882. I am indebted for the loan of this book to Mr. John White, an old and respected resident of Darjeeling, who came to Darjeeling with the 6th Foot in December 1860.

† Ashley Eden had an hereditary interest in Darjeeling, being son of the third Lord Auckland and nephew of the Governor-General. He was Lieutenant-Governor 1877-1882; his name is still commemorated in the Eden Sanitarium and in a house and road called "Ashley." On 13th March 1864 as Envoy to Bhutan he was very roughly handled and subjected to indignities, as Campbell was at the hands of the Sikkimese in 1849.

‡ Though no mention is made in these Notes of the later Sikkim expedition of 1888-89, yet it may be worth while to put on record the story recorded by Captain M. Power, an old and respected resident of Darjeeling (to whom I am indebted for much information in the these notes).

It runs as follows: After the battle of the Jelep La Pass among the prisoners taken was a "Tibetan" of fair complexion, blue eyes and red hair, so European was he in appearance that one of his captors said: "Badad he's the very twin of Paddy Sullivan." The Doctor who attended to his wounds became interested in him and made many inquiries; he found that the prisoner's name was Nangay

DARJEELING IN 1841.

We may now try to realise what the old station was like in 1841, when the accompanying map was published. The numbers on the map refer to locations or to houses already built.

We may commence at the north-west corner of the station. We find marked on the map the site of a house called, obviously from its northerly position, "John o'Groats." It belonged to a Lieutenant Montgomery who may have been the officer of that name in the 15th Native Infantry, then stationed at Dinapore. The site of this house must have been near to the present fine house called "Singamari" belonging to Mr. A. Price. It was near what is now called North Point, where St. Joseph's College now stands. This College was opened in 1892, the school having formerly been at a house called "Sunny Bank."

The road which now runs round Birch Hill then existed from John O'Groats to the present Observatory Hill. On this road in 1841 were situated two houses, No. 2 or 3, belonging to a Mr. Yule. Higher up this road was No. 4 belonging to Mr. Smith, of whom more hereafter, and No. 5 called "Primrose Hill" belonging to Mr. Martin. This Mr. Martin, or his family, for many years after kept the principal shop of Darjeeling. The shop was in 1863 close to General Lloyd's house (No. 16 on map). Mr. Martin also owned location No. 41 and, later on, the house now known as "Rose Bank," which has been in the possession of the Maharaja of Burdwan's family for the past 50 years. Next to "Primrose Hill" came location No. 6. This is on the ground now known as "Wilson's Busti." It is just below the present Durbar Hall and the houses are now used as the offices of the local Public Works Department. No. 6 was the only Hotel of those days. It belonged to Mr. S. Smith, the owner of locations Nos. 5 and 28. Smith had let out this Hotel to D. Wilson & Co., the enterprising firm whose name is preserved

Doola and, afterwards, a Lama of the Pemtonchi Monastery in Sikkim told him that many years before a big burly red-haired European had come to Sikkim, with a Lepcha wife, and had settled down in Sikkim; when our Expedition of 1861 came this man and his family migrated to Tibet. Inquiries made in Darjeeling proved that about 1840, a burly-red-haired Irishman named Timothy Doolan had fallen in love with a Lepcha woman, and on his commanding officer ordering him back to Dinapur in order to break off the affair Tim Doolan had bolted into Sikkim with his Lepcha wife and refused to return and had even fired on the "Sedaily Sappers" sent in pursuit of him. A messenger was sent to Namgy Doola's home in Tibet and brought back with him an old brass regimental buckle and an old crucifix, etc., proving the above story to be true. Tim Dooley became "Timday Doola" and probably his descendants are in Tibet to this day and Namgy Doola, the "Tibetan" prisoner, was the son of the Irish Tim Doolan. Kipling apparently has heard of this story; see his *Namgy Doola* (*Ed. de Luxe*, Macmillan & Co. IV. *In Black and White*, p. 26), but Kipling's story has too much of the stage Irishman about it and is not as good a story as the version, published privately, by Captain Power, here summarised.

in Calcutta in the name "Wilson Hotel" still given by *ghariwalas* to the Great Eastern Hotel.

The Darjeeling Hotel was a fair-sized one, containing (in 1841) 14 single and 7 double rooms. It was managed for D. Wilson & Co. by Mr. Warman, the owner or occupier of location No. 7 close by.

It was probably the same "cottage-like" building which so disappointed Hooker on his arrival in Darjeeling on 16th April 1848. He had been informed that there was a "furnished hotel" in Darjeeling and had (in English fashion) brought neither servants nor bedding. He describes it (*Himalayan Journals*, Chapter IV) as "a long cottage-like building, divided off into pairs of apartments which are hired by visitors." This "hotel" was probably little better than the *dāk* bungalow of the day, and twenty years later it was even more uncomfortable, for in 1863 Captain Hathorn devotes over two pages of his *Handbook* to a denunciation of it... "There is neither (he wrote) an Hotel or *Dāk* Bungalow properly so called... There is what is called a *Dāk* Bungalow belonging to Messrs. D. Wilson & Co." The accommodation is described as "inferior both in quantity and quality, the cuisine is bad, the khansama's charges are exorbitant" (this is not surprising as the *khansama* was an ex-convict "who had been twice in jail"). The people of 1863 possibly expected much, for Captain Hathorn remarks that "the gentry of Calcutta who have been accustomed to the sumptuous dinners, the silver plate, and iced champagne of Calcutta" are naturally disgusted with "the stringy sheep, the muscular goat, the indigestible bread and the altogether-to-be abominated fowl" with which they were regaled in Darjeeling in 1863.

House or location No. 8 belonged to a Colonel Caulfield. This *may* be a Lieutenant-Colonel Caulfield, C.B., of the Light Cavalry, who went on sick leave in February 1841, as the Army List shows. He may have been one of the first invalids to enjoy the cool breezes of Darjeeling.

House No. 9, called "Solitaire," belonged to Mr. Hepper, probably of the firm of Hepper & Co., who owned location No. 30 and its house, then and still called "Oak Lodge." The site of No. 9 corresponds with that of the present house, "Rivers Hill," close by the Shrubbery cricket ground. We understand that the name "Rivers" was taken from that of Sir A. Rivers Thompson, who was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1882-87, and is remembered as the opponent of what was in those stirring days called the "Ilbert Bill." Location No. 10 we cannot trace, but No. 11 is a well-known one, as it is the site of the present Shrubbery. The old house is seen in the picture of 1852 with three tall trees in front of it. The house on this site had formerly been in the possession of Sir Thomas Edward Michell Turton, Bart., who was Registrar of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and succeeded

his brother as Baronet in 1844, and later on got into financial troubles which led to his being an inmate for a considerable time of the civil side of the Presidency Jail, where till recently a ward was pointed out known by the name of Turton's ward.

This house, about 1862, passed into the possession of Mr. Charles H. Barnes, a notable man in old Darjeeling and one of the most energetic pioneers of the tea industry.* Readers of Hooker's "*Himalayas*" will remember how he records the hospitality of Mr. G. Barnes in his comfortable house, "on a conical hill overlooking the Ganges," at Colgong, and how Mr. Charles H. Barnes was the first to welcome him to Darjeeling on his arrival at the "Hotel" as above described. The Barnes brothers were noted for their hospitality and kept open house for travellers on their way to the hills. It was Charles H. Barnes who opened out the tea estates of Chongtong, Nagri, Singtom, Vah, Mineral Springs, Rungneet and the Mounteviot estate at Kurseong. A tablet is erected to his memory in St. Andrew's Church, Darjeeling, and the names of two estates in the district, "Barnesmore" and "Barnesbeg," still commemorate the name of the man who did so much to establish the great industry of these hills. From the hands of Mr. Barnes the old house in the grounds of the Shrubbery passed into the possession of the Cooch Behar Estate and was finally cheaply purchased by Government on 31st October 1877. The present fine residence of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, erected in 1879† in Sir Ashley Eden's time, was first occupied in the summer of 1880. The previous house, though usually described as a "cottage," must have been a fairly large and roomy one, for in it dwelt a succession of Lieutenant-Governors from the days of Sir Frederick Halliday, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

*We content ourselves with a bare mention of the tea industry in these hills; its history has yet to be written. It has had many ups and downs, an early boom, a slump in 1866, another advance in 1871-4, a depression ten years later, a great rise in 1892-95, then great overproduction and its consequences, and a steady improvement to the present day. (See an interesting note in the *Empire* of 17th April 1907.)

†This and the story of the rise and fall of the settlement at Hope Town, which the energy of Mr. Brine, Mr. Devere and Mr. H. Dorr (of Monghyr) endeavoured to make a success, are well worth recording. The aspirations of those days are seen in this attempt at Hope Town to realise the vision of Brian Hodgson "of a hundred thousand loyal hearts and stalwart bodies of Saxon mould" settled in these hills. Remember also Lord Canning's Minute and the endeavours of Bishop Cotton for the establishment of hill schools in India. Will not some one tell the tale in the pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*?

‡The porch and tower were added afterwards by Eden. The Darbar Hall to the north of the Shrubbery was built by Sir Charles Elliott and a new storey was added and a fine Darbar Hall completed by Sir Andrew Fraser in 1906. The Shrubbery grounds were laid out under the advice of Sir George King, I.M.S., of the Botanic Gardens, Calcutta.

House, or location, No. 12 belonged to a Mr. Dickens, it was on the slope of the hill below the Shrubbery. No. 13 was also owned by the Mr. Hepper already mentioned. It was called "Lowland Place" probably because of its situation below the present cart road and not far from the big still-increasing landslip, near the Happy Valley Tea Estate. Nos. 14 and 15 belonged to a Mr. Bruce and correspond to the sites of houses on the hillside below the Amusement Club. No. 14 still exists and is called "Caroline Villa" (the first house to start the custom now so common in Darjeeling of giving girls' names to houses, e.g., Alice Villa, Catherine Villas, etc., etc.). This house is now occupied by the Nuns of the neighbouring Convent and School.

The next house is an important one, it is No. 16 on the old map, but it cannot be recognised on the picture of 1852.* This house was called "Mount Pleasant," a name still belonging to a road close by. It belonged to General Lloyd, the discoverer of Darjeeling, whose family has done much for that place.

Immediately below General Lloyd's house were the old Public Gardens, long since built over. The present gardens on the north-west slope of the Eden Sanitarium hill are now known as the Lloyd Botanical Gardens and were presented to Government in 1878 by Mr. William Lloyd, the proprietor of Lloyd's Bank, nephew of General Lloyd, who also gave the beautiful Birch Hill to the station on the condition that it was to be kept as a Park for the people, unbuilt upon for all time. Mr. William Lloyd also subscribed handsomely to the building of the new Church in 1870 and presented it with the organ. He also gave the local corps of Volunteers a Maxim Gun, said to have been the first ever brought to India. During the past eighty years, truly the Lloyd family have done much for Darjeeling. Before the gift of the Lloyd Botanical Gardens the Government Botanical Gardens were out at Rungaroon, a well-known picnic place, in the forest below Tiger Hill, across the Rungnoo valley.

To return to the old Map. No. 17 belonged to Dr. Pearson, whose name is also attached to locations Nos. 24 and 44. No. 17 marks the site of the large house now called "Southfield" between the Church and the Alliance Bank. Dr. Pearson had resided in Darjeeling and had written on the diseases of the people and the climate. In the Army List for 1841 he is shown as Surgeon to the Governor-General and as having come out in the Bengal Medical Service in the "season" of 1825.

Location No. 18 corresponds to the present bazar and No. 19 was the magazine close by the old *Kacheri*.

* A strange omission, the house below and to the left of the Church in the picture is certainly the old *Kacheri* (the Amusement Club).

The site of the old *Kacheri*, called Dr. Campbell's *Kacheri*, is clearly seen on the old map, and also (slightly below and to the left of the Church) in the picture of 1852 on the site now occupied by the Amusement Club.

We make out four *Kacheries* in Darjeeling, *viz.*, Dr. Campbell's, and another in the sixties, in a large house in the centre of the bazar, now occupied as quarters for some of the Secretariat clerks. The third was on the site of the present *Kacheri*, and when it was burned down in 1896, the present fine *Kacheri* arose from its ashes. Below the first *Kacheri* and the Church, on what is now the Victoria Gardens till recently the old Secretariat and quarters for the clerks used to stand and before that General Lloyd's house Mount Pleasant. After the fine new Secretariat was built closely, this open flat space was converted into the 'Victoria Gardens,' a favourite resort of the rosy-cheeked children for whom Darjeeling has ever been famous.

The site of the old *Kacheri* of Dr. Campbell was made over by the Government of Bengal in a letter, dated 16th August 1892, to the Committee of the present Darjeeling Amusement Club on the condition that the land be used solely for the purposes of a club. The ground so given over (on a sixty years' lease with the option of renewal) at the nominal rent of one hundred rupees a year was 2 acres, 3 roods, 10 poles and 90½ feet, as the accurate measurement in the lease records it.

This Club began as a tennis club, and in its early days appears to have been in difficulties, for in 1863 the building then used as the "Assembly Rooms" was sold to a Mr. Dunn, who opened a shop there, and as the author of the *Handbook* of 1863 says, "the seats once pressed by the belles of Darjeeling are now covered with hermetically sealed lobsters and tart fruits." Besides this shop of Mr. Dunn there then was another shop kept by Mr. Doyle, situated below General Lloyd's House in what is now "Meadow Bank," a Government Office. A Mr. Chapman also had another shop, "on the road between Beechwood and the Church," which was probably the first shop on what is now called "Commercial Row" at the Chowrasta end of Auckland Road.

The present Darjeeling Club, Limited, for long known as the "Planters' Club," was started (as I am informed by Babu N. K. Chaudhuri, the Head Clerk) in 1868, in the house, below the present Alliance Bank of Simla, called "Alice Villa." It afterwards moved into its present comfortable premises, and on 13th January 1889 at the instigation of Lord Ullick Browne (the present Marquis of Sligo), then President of the Club, it was purchased from the Maharajah of Cooch Behar for 95,000 rupees. It was subsequently enlarged, and in the beginning of the year 1908 it was converted into a Limited Liability Company.

Close by Dr. Campbell's old *Kacheri* and on the same site as the present St. Andrew's Church, stood the old Church, also called St. Andrew's, the foundation-stone of which was laid on St. Andrew's day 1843. It was built at the cost of only Rs. 9,000 by Captain G. W. Bishop of the 79th N. I., the Commandant of the local Corps of "Sebundy Sappers." It had accommodation for 150 persons, and was opened for Divine Service in October 1844. It was built of brick "stuccoed over and white washed." The author of the *Handbook* of 1863 complained of the distance soldiers had to go to the Church from Jalapahar. In 1867 St. Luke's Church was built at Jalapahar.

The old hospital is shown on the map on the east side of the hill now topped by the Eden Sanitarium (opened on 22nd April 1883). The old hospital had three wards, one for the corps of sappers, one for the general public, and one for sick convicts from the old jail on the slope below. There was also a dispensary for out-patients.

We now come to the flat space marked H.P. on the old map. This is the present Chowrasta, from here ran and still runs a road up the ridge to the S.E., now called the Eastern Jalapahar Road. In the old map it is noted that a circular road was contemplated around the present Observatory Hill. As soon as this road was made, a "crossroad" must have existed here, but the name "Chowrasta" was not used even in 1863, and all measurements of distances within the station were taken from "Dell Corner," which is the house now, by a corruption of the word "Dell," called "The Dale."

Below the above-mentioned Eastern Jalapahar road on the east side of the same ridge is the road, then traced out and now called the Calcutta Road, which runs to Ghoom, across the big landslip below St. Paul's School. On the map this road is shown as a "new line of road traced out." At the foot of this ridge, on the west on the old map, are the words "level road being traced out." This, as the old *Gazetteer* of 1841 tells us, is the road "called the Auckland Road leading to the waterfall two miles from the old ruin," or in modern language leading from Observatory Hill to the Eden Falls and indeed on to Ghoom.* The "Old Ruin" was the remains of the old Monastery or *Gumpa*, destroyed in an old Goorkha raid as mentioned above. This new road, called after the Governor-General of the day, was laid out under Dr. Campbell's orders by the young Lieutenant, R. C. Napier, destined a quarter of a century later to become Lord Napier of Magdala. Napier was in 1841 Executive Engineer in Darjeeling. The present houses on this road called "Sligo Hall" and "Ullick Villas" were built during the years Lord Ullick Browne (the present Marquis of Sligo) resided in Darjeeling.

* In 1863 Ghoom was known as "The Saddle."

We may now follow the line of "locations" along the ridge road from the Chowrasta or "Dell Corner" towards Jalapahar. "The excellent building ground along the slope" mentioned in the old map was soon occupied.

The first location on this ridge, No. 24, belonged to Dr. Pearson, above mentioned, and corresponds to the fine site of the house now known as "Benmore." Next came Mr. Bayley's location, No. 25, and following up the ridge we come to No. 26, Dr. Campbell's location. This is the site of the house still appropriately named "Campbell Cottage." The old name was "One Tree House," and curiously one young tree still marks the turn in the short avenue leading up to the house. The house afterwards came into the possession of the Cooch Behar Estate (as are so many of the houses now on this ridge). It was sold to the Planters' Club (now the Darjeeling Club, Limited) and by them, in 1908, was sold to Government for Rs. 50,000, as the Government wanted the house and its fine site to provide houses for the Superintendent of Police and the Civil Surgeon. It is to be hoped that when the new house for the Civil Surgeon is built, the old name "One Tree House" will be revived to commemorate one of the residences of the medical man who made Darjeeling.

It is, however, very clear, that Dr. Campbell lived for the greater part of his life in Darjeeling in another house for long known as "Beechwood House." This is on the sites numbered 44 and 45 on the old map. In 1863 the *Handbook* clearly calls Beechwood "Dr. Campbell's old house;" the grounds were tastefully arranged and well wooded, and tradition has it that many of the big trees and rhododendrons were planted by Sir J. D. Hooker. Some local irritation was recently caused by the present owner, a German gentleman, cutting down trees and in the opinion of many spoiling his property. Part of the former grounds of this house are now opened up and built over with houses large and small, including a large public rink.* Between Beechwood and Woodlands, in 1863, were three houses belonging to Colonel Crommelin of the Engineers. These probably represent some of the houses of the Scotch Mission, and the name of one of them survives in the name "Banstead," for the road which now runs from Auckland Road past the Mission and the Turnbull Memorial School down to the railway station.

To return to the ridge and "One Tree House," the next location, No. 27, was owned by Mr. Cameron and No. 28 by Mr. Smith, the owner of the hotel, and curiously enough this is the site of the present Grand Hotel.

* The cutting up and building over of this central site would have been avoided had Government, or rather the Municipality, seen their way to accept the public-spirited offer of the late Mr. Andrew Wernicke, who offered 50,000 rupees towards the purchase of this property for conversion into a public park. This would have vastly improved the centre of the town, now "hideously defamed."



CAMPBELL COTTAGE, DARJEELING



BIRCHWOOD HOUSE, DARJEELING.
(Residence of Dr. Campbell.)

Rockville. This house was largely rebuilt after the 1897 earthquake. In 1863 it appears to have been the site of a school for young ladies kept by Miss Wight. Beyond this and on a knoll to the S.E. was location No. 29: it belonged to Lieutenant Napier, afterwards of Magdala. An old house existed on this fine site till the Jubilee Earthquake of June 1897, after which the present fine villas, Nos. 1 and 2 Chevrement were built.* Below No. 29 came house No. 30, then and still called "Oak Lodge." Site 31 was not occupied in 1841. It is the site now occupied by the "Parsonage," the residence of the Rector of St. Andrew's. Following along the ridge we come to the flat site numbered 32, this is now occupied by Nos. 1 and 2 Catherine Villas (in No. 1 these words are being written). Further on are the sites of houses now known as Nos. 1 and 2 "The Ridge."

OTHER HOUSES OF INTEREST.

The old map stops here, but just beyond, on the north end of Jalapahar Hill, was a house of considerable interest in old Darjeeling. This was the house of Brian Hodgson. It had been built by Sir Herbert Maddock, who had been Resident in Nepal, when Hodgson was his Assistant. Maddock called the house "Herbert Hill," and for a similar reason we may suppose Brian Hodgson called it "Brianstone." † Maddock was Deputy Governor of Bengal in 1843 and in 1848. He retired in 1849 and was M.P. for Rochester for five years (1852-57). He died in 1870. Hodgson purchased this house from him in 1847 and lived there during his thirteen years as the "student-recluse" after his retirement from the Civil Service owing to his quarrel over Nepalese politics with the eccentric Lord Ellenborough. This house was demolished soon after 1863, and on the site was built the present residence of the Rector of St. Paul's School.‡ Hooker made "Brianstone" his headquarters and during his two years in the Himalayas, and his description of the house and the view is quoted in Hunter's *Life of Hodgson* as follows:—

"It stood in a narrow clearing of the majestic forest that then clothed the mountains of Sikkim on every side and crept up to the very walls of the few houses of which the station then consisted. It was a modest bungalow, of the ordinary Anglo-Indian type, occupying

* It has been suggested that "Little Chevrement," a certainly old house, represents Napier's house; but before 1897 an old house certainly stood on the site of Nos. 1 and 2 Chevrement, higher up on the same knoll as Little Chevrement.

† So spelled in the *Handbook* of 1863; Hunter, in his *Life of Hodgson*, calls it "Bryanstone."

‡ In 1866 a writer in the *Calcutta Review* (page 66) speaks of "the new buildings now in progress of St. Paul's School" "a link in the new chain of public schools to be founded in the Himalayas." The Calcutta St. Paul's School stood on the site of the Indian Museum. An article in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LV, March 1857, describes Hodgson's house and talks of his well laid out grounds and "broad acres."

the slope of a ridge 8,000 ft. high and facing north at an elevation of 7,500 ft. It commanded a view of the Snowy Himalayas unrivalled for grandeur and extent.....Immediately in front Kinchenjunga rears itself to 37,128 feet."

Well below Brianstone on the west slope of the hill lay and lies still "Woodlands." In 1863 it was the property of Dr. Collins, the Civil Surgeon, and in that year was occupied by the Bishop of Calcutta. It is now the well-known "Woodlands Hotel." Above Brianstone on the top of the hog-backed ridge, where a big house still stands, stood in 1863 the "large and commodious residence" of General Garstin* of the Engineers. In 1841 Major Garstin (as he then was) was Superintending Engineer and owned locations 43 and 46 on the old map, i.e., houses below Auckland Road.

LOCATIONS AT LEBONG IN 1841.

The old *Guide and Gazetteer* of 1841 gives a further list of 28 "locations at Lebong," many of them taken up by persons who owned property in the Station of Darjeeling. Lebong was then covered by forest and the present cantonment was formerly part of the still existing Bannockburn Tea Estate. The ground had been levelled as a race course by the Gymkhana or Club; the Military Department took this over about 16 years ago and enlarged it and made the parade ground, but the Gymkhana (or Amusement Club) has still rights to the race course at times when it is not required for military purposes.

THE FIRST MISSIONARIES.

On the Tukvar Spur to north-west of Darjeeling in 1842 were located the four German Missionaries, the first to come to these hills. They worked on the Moravian or "self-supporting system" and some of their names, Start, Niebel, Stoelke and Wernicke are still well known in the Darjeeling District.

THE HOUSES IN 1841.

The houses in these early days were neither very substantial nor imposing. On the old map the size of a location is given as 100 square yards, and there are many occupiers of houses now who would gladly have this amount of space. The houses were all of "twattle and dab;" some had iron roofs (and these iron roofs plain and coloured red are still characteristic of Darjeeling). They were "mere cottages of the better sort," says the old *Gazetteer* of 1841; "single storied cottages or, if the reader prefers, villas"

* *Query*.—Was he the son of General Garstin, Surveyor-General of Bengal and Architect of the Calcutta Town Hall and the Bankipore Gols?

says Captain Hathorn in 1863. The roofs were shingled, that is "slated, so to speak, with thin slips of wood 18×4 inches, and tarred outside." These roofs were good and kept out the rain. These shingled roofs are now very rarely seen, they have given way to the ubiquitous corrugated iron.

The old *Gazetteer* map showed only 46 locations or houses in Darjeeling, but in a footnote it is added "there are now some sixty or seventy locations, and Dr. Campbell has made a drive of 16 miles round the station, including the splendid road called the Auckland Road leading to two magnificent waterfalls called the Edenfalls."^{*}

The progress of building cannot have been very rapid, for Hooker refers to about seventy houses, and the same number is mentioned in the *Handbook* of 1863. The rent of a medium sized house in that year is put at from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100. Nowadays it will be a very poor sort of house that can be got for Rs. 100 a month.

The *Bengal Hurkaru*, of November 1840, had a note on Darjeeling in which it is remarked that:—"The only public building is the Superintendent's Cutcherry on the Dorjeling† Hill, a neat wattle and dab bungalow with an iron roof. There is an allotment for a Church and spaces for public purposes but no appearance of appropriating them. A small fort or neat stockade on the crest of Dorjeling Hill, where there yet appears the remains of an old monastery, would be ornamental and useful. A good clock is much wanted to regulate the time of the station if Government cannot afford a good clock a good sundial would be very acceptable, and a morning and evening gun would be useful."

The *Hurkaru* evidently received these remarks from its "Own Correspondent." The suggestion to build a fort was not adopted, but some one evidently approved of the proposal for a sundial, for in 1863 one stood in front of the old *Kucheri*, "presented to the station by a visitor," possibly as a joke (suggests the author of the *Handbook* of 1863), for, as he says, "of what use can a sundial be in a place which is always in the clouds." The new Church built in 1870 has a fine clock, which still "regulates the time of the station."

^{*} These two falls were in the ghor or ravine, called the Kagjhora (the crow's ravine), which run down on the north side of the hill on which the Maharajah of Cooch Behar's house, "Collinton," is. This great ghor has been converted into a huge masonry drain, as a result of the F. W. D. improvements after the great landslide of 24th September 1899. The water now runs off so fast that there is nothing left deserving of the name of fall. The upper fall above the cart road appears to have been called the Edenfalls, and a big house not far off still preserves the name. The lower falls below the cart road were called the Victoria Falls, as early as 1863.

† *Dorjeling* is probably the more correct, & less euphonious name, from *Dorje*, a thunderbolt, and *ling*, place (Waddell). Previous derivations made the word mean, the "sunny place," an inappropriate name.

THE PICTURE OF DARJEELING IN 1852.

The picture of Darjeeling which we here reproduce from an old coloured engraving, gives a good view of the station in 1852.* At first sight it is difficult to localise places on the picture, and it was not till we discovered the point from which the sketch was taken that we were able to understand it.

The original sketch was evidently made from a high point on the Western Jalapahar Road, say at the bend of the road, on the projecting spur below Edenfalls House, or possibly from a point halfway up Elysium Road.

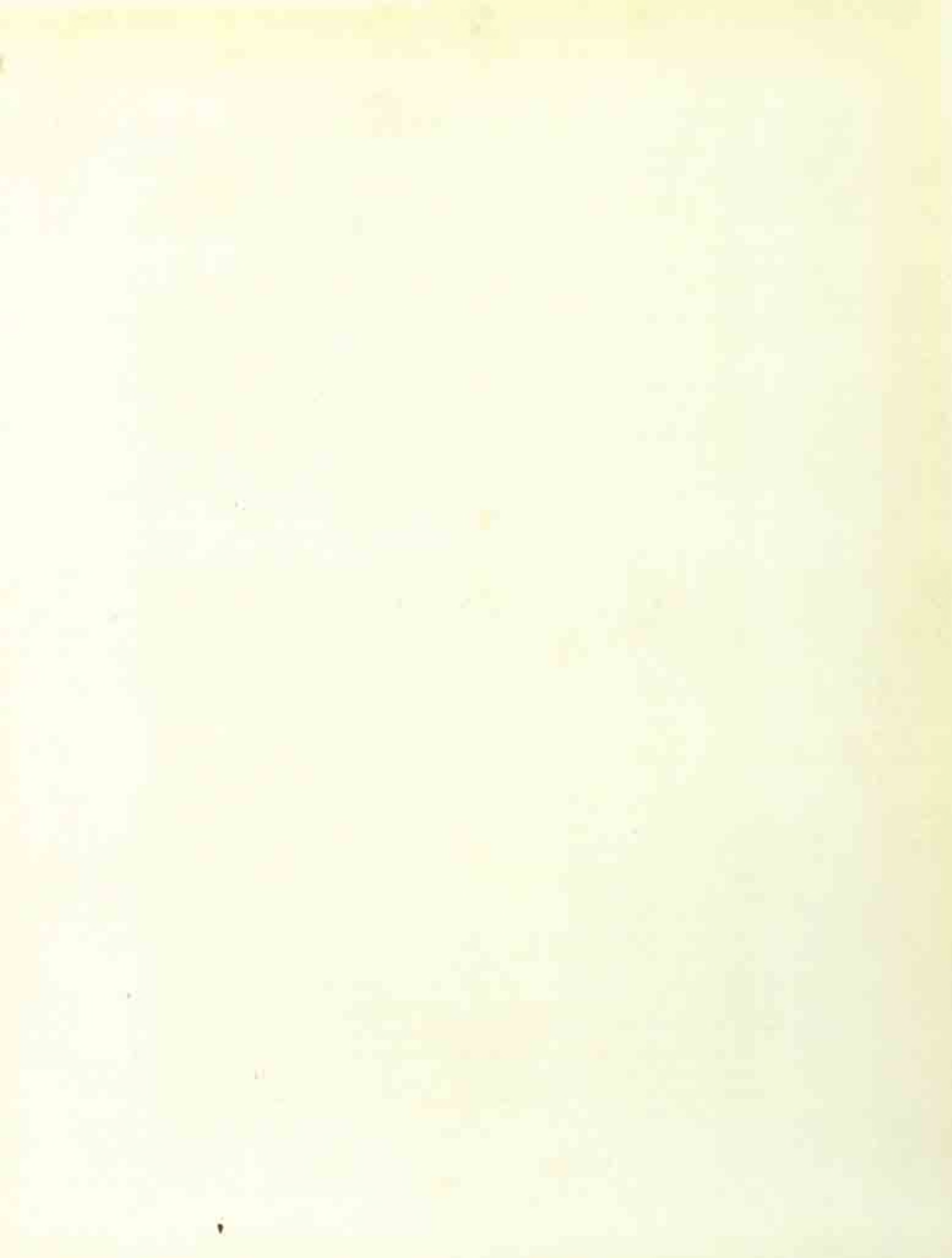
The foreground of the picture is given in great detail, but the more important part of Darjeeling is not so clear. From this point of view, the Kinchenjunga Range appears correctly, but the lower ranges of hills are too prominent and the long ridge on which the station is built is not sufficiently emphasised.

It is, however, possible to localise all the points of the picture.

The black slope and trees on the extreme right of the picture form the upper portion of the grounds of the present Woodlands Hotel, and the ornamental garden, with stiffly laid out paths, is part of the slope below the hotel. The winding road at the bottom and right lower corner, with the quaint Highlander-like natives, is part of the Western Jalapahar Road leading up from the Auckland Road. In the left lower corner of the picture on a flat space are two houses, the nearer one used to be called "Belombre," and belonged to Colonel Crommelin of the Engineers; beyond it, close by a line of dark trees, which still exist, is the house now converted into the Lewis Jubilee Sanitarium. The well marked road beyond this row of trees is the Victoria Road, and just below it, is the house formerly called "Wolkow," now occupied by the Superintendent of the Jail, which at present stands on the slope just below.

The flat space in the lower centre part of the picture containing a sort of "summer house" is what was called Dr. Collins' "garden house," close by is his house "Woodlands" just to the right. The stiffly ornamental garden still forms part of the Woodlands Hotel "compound," between this and the central dark row of trees, is the flat space where the railway station now is. Above the ornamental garden, and towards the centre of the picture, is the large flat site, now occupied by the various buildings of the Scots Mission. Separated from the Scots Mission site by a fine row of tall trees, may be seen "Beechwood" above referred to. It is rather confusing to find the site of this house of Dr. Campbell also marked in this

* A copy of this coloured engraving still hangs in the Office of the Under-Secretary, Financial Department, in the Secretariat in Darjeeling.





DARJILING IN 1852
(From an old engraving.)

picture by a single tree, for it is quite clear, from the old *Gazetteer* of 1841, that the name "One Tree" belonged to the location No. 26, the site of the house still known as "Campbell Cottage."

Above Beechwood, and to the right the picture shows the Auckland Road, constructed ten or twelve years before. Near the right upper corner of the picture there just appears a house, probably Campbell Cottage, and below it some tall trees which mark the site of the present Darjeeling Club, Limited. This portion of the view extends more to the right in the original big picture in the Secretariat, and in it the "One Tree" of "Campbell Cottage" can be seen.

Recently this picture was reproduced on a postcard and labelled "*Darjeeling, two hundred years ago*"!!! What a knowledge of history this displays!

Observatory Hill is easily made out with the group of houses still to be found on its southern end ("Ada Villa," etc.). The old church is clearly to be seen and just beyond it and slightly lower down on the picture is Dr. Campbell's old *kacheri* (the Amusement Club).

About an inch further towards the left of the picture is the large house which is the still existing—"Caroline Villa."* Above this and further to the left, almost hidden by three tall trees, is the house which preceded the Shrubbery on this site. Further to the left in the same line comes the group of houses still known as "Wilson Busti," then comes the lofty northern end of Birch Hill, and at the extreme end, close by the site of John o' Groats of the old map of 1841, was a house formerly known as "Gasson's Corner" and more recently as "Edgar's Folly."

In the centre of the picture the bare rounded hill had on its top the old Post Office and a school for Bhutia boys. This hill is much less prominent now-a-days, for it was very largely cut down in 1881 to provide room for the large buildings of the Eden Sanitarium, which was opened on 22nd April 1883. The lines and the bazar are in the same site as in the picture, but the bazar has spread widely over every available space.

Another picture of Darjeeling to-day, is given for the purpose of contrast.

As may be seen from the smooth cleared patch beyond the trees and the Sanitarium Hill, in 1852 the formidable Happy Valley landslip did not exist. The "dandy" of that day was more elaborate than the present day "dandy;" and rickshaws did not exist,—indeed they are only an importation of the last few years.

* If this old picture is to be trusted as a faithful picture of the sites of houses of 1852 then General Lloyd's house is either omitted or the old *kacheri* is omitted, which is strange. Mount Pleasant (16 on map) was on a knoll below and to the right south of the Church, now the Victoria Gardens.

THE DARJEELING ROADS.

The Auckland Road, built as we have said, by Lieutenant Napier (afterwards of Magdala) was continued by the same Engineer to Kurseong and Siliguri *via* Pankabari. This old road still exists and is called the "Old Military Road." It remained the only road to the plains till the present splendid Cart Road was made in 1861 to 1869. The Eastern Bengal State Railway reached Siliguri in 1878 and passengers then went up the hill in tongas. A road still called the "Tonga Road" runs from the Auckland Road, near Woodlands, to the Cart Road below. The Hill Railway was commenced in 1879, it reached Kurseong in 1880 and Darjeeling in 1881. A short road, which runs down past Woodlands and connects Auckland Road with the Railway Station, called "Prestage Road" commemorates the name of the Chief Engineer of this remarkable Hill Railway.

THE JOURNEY TO DARJEELING IN EARLY DAYS.

In the old days of 1841 the journey from Calcutta was very different from the 20 hours train journey of these days. Twenty hours is long enough for a journey the same distance as from London to Edinburgh, but no appreciable acceleration is possible till the Sara or other Bridge across the Ganges is built.

Captain Herbert, who went up to Darjeeling in 1830, gives his itinerary as follows:—

Calcutta to Krishnagur	...	...	18 hours.
Krishnagur to Berhampore	...	...	15 "
Berhampore to Malda	...	...	21 "
Malda to Dinajpore	...	...	16 "
Dinajpore to Titalya	...	...	20 "
Titalya to "foot of hills"*	...	...	8 "
Total			98 hours.

All the roads from various parts of Bengal met at Titalya, then a place of considerable importance. It lies on the south bank of the river Mahanuddee, 15 miles from Siliguri. In 1841 it had a hotel (run by D. Wilson and Co.), a *pucca* dak bungalow and a shop. It was regarded as the "Store Depôt for the Hills," and in 1863 the remains of old bungalows and also officers' graves could still be seen. Invalids were recommended to go up the Hughli and Jellingee rivers as far as possible. The extension of the East Indian Railway to Sahebgunge (on the "loop line") made that route

* Pankabaree.

preferable, and in 1863 this is the way recommended by Captain Hathorn. The journey in 1863 from Calcutta to Sahebgunge was then 9½ hours (it is not very much better now), the Ganges was crossed in a steam ferry to Karagola Ghat and no less than 7 hours is put down for the river journey. Then the passenger proceeded by dāk through Purnea, Kissengunge, and Titalya to Siliguri and thence up the hill, the journey taking 70 hours in all. In 1848 Hooker took over eight days (8th to 16th April) to get from Bhagalpur to Darjeeling and it cost him Rs. 240 from Karagola Ghat to "the foot of the hills." In 1841 the cost of the journey from Calcutta for one person was Rs. 176. In 1863 Captain Hathorn calculated it at Rs. 123. It is now Rs. 49 first class.

THE CANTONMENTS OF DARJEELING.

A word now about the Cantonments of Darjeeling. The most recent is Lebong, or Alibong, as the natives more euphoniously call it. It only began to be used about 16 years ago and was formerly part of the Bannockburn Tea Estate. Four or five years ago extra barracks were built and there is now room for a whole battalion of British Troops.

The Jalapahar Cantonment was established as a convalescent depôt for European soldiers in 1848, but was used for convalescents only, during the period the old cantonment of Senchal was occupied. It is still mainly a convalescent depôt and used for the troops of the Presidency Brigade. Higher up the ridge is the more recent Katapahar, the summer station of a Mountain Battery.

The most interesting of the Darjeeling Cantonments is the long abandoned one on the top of Senchal ridge to the south of Tiger Hill. The top of this hill, 8,300 feet, was cleared and levelled and the construction of barracks commenced in 1857; they were occupied in 1860. The buildings consisted of 14 officers' bungalows, 20 barracks for the men and two hospitals, one for 64 male patients and the other for 16 female patients. The first regiment to occupy Senchal was the 6th Foot. It is difficult to understand the choice of this hill for barracks, as it is rightly called "Senchal" or the "hill of mist and fog." The only explanation offered is a quaint one given in the *Handbook* of 1863, that the residents of Darjeeling "wished to keep Private John Smith at as respectful a distance as possible."* Captain Hathorn rightly protested against this explanation and adds that except the hospitals, the barracks were "jerry-built and flimsy;" the foundations, however, cannot have been so, as many walls and tall chimneys still remain. Senchal was abandoned as a cantonment soon after a visit of the Commander-in-Chief in

* It may be noted that the use of the expression "Private John Smith" shows that in 1863 the name "Tommy Atkins" had not come into use.

April 1867. Some of the old walls were levelled and turfed over by the Darjeeling Golf Club, which was started there in 1905. This Golf Club proudly boasts of being the highest golf club in the world (8,600 to 8,300 feet). It has thirteen holes. In 1908 a new bungalow has been built on Sanchal by the Darjeeling Improvement Fund for the benefit of visitors on their way to the top of Tiger Hill to see Mount Everest. The three peaks of the Everest group (Peak 14, Mount Everest in the middle, and an unnamed peak on the left) are clearly seen on a fine day, just peeping over the top of black Singalelah. This is the only place close to Darjeeling from which this mighty mountain can be seen. To see it to perfection it is necessary to go out some forty or fifty miles along the Nepal Boundary Road, to Sandakphu or to Faloot. From those heights the "grand summits" can be seen clearly, and those who have seen them on a fine morning will appreciate the following lines of Th. Gauthier:—

*Ils ne rapportent rien et ne sont pas utiles
Ils n'ont que leur beauté, je le sais c'est bien peu
Mai moi je les préfère aux champs gras et fertiles
Qui sont si loin du ciel, qu'on y voit jamais Dieu.*

W. J. BUCHANAN, B.A., M.D. (DUB.),
Lieutenant-Colonel, I.M.S.



A Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery.

PART I.—(*Continued.*)



HE Parliament of England had established a new Council to direct affairs in India, and on the 19th Mr. Monson and Mr. Francis arrived at Calcutta; and on the 27th October, General Clavering took the Chief command of the Army. On the 26th November he reviewed the Bengal Artillery, which by this time was brought into an excellent state of discipline; and General Clavering expressed himself as delighted with the corps and astonished at its performances, being superior to anything he could have expected in India, and so much to his satisfaction, that Colonel Pearse writes to General Pattison, "the performances at the review would not have been disgrace to dear old Woolwich."

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

Fort William, 23rd February, 1775.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Since my last, Sujah-ul-Dowlah is dead. Reports concerning his death are various; but what is current in the bazaar is the following: It is a translation of a Persian newspaper, which my Moonshee is now reading to me: "Sujah-ul-Dowlah, having taken the daughter of Dundee Khawn prisoner, sent for her to his Harem, and attempted to violate her person. She had concealed a poisoned dagger, with which, whilst he was struggling with her, she stabbed him a little below the navel. He was for four months confined to his bed by the wound, which baffled the skill of all the physicians who went to his assistance; and it was given out in the bazaar that he had contracted an evil disease. But at length he died; and just before his death he caused the daughter of Dundee Khawn, before mentioned, to be strangled." This is nearly literally translated; as nearly literal as a translation can be; but mark I do not vouch for the truth of it, whatever I may believe; and I would not have written this but to show you that he did not bear the best of characters, and so to induce to believe that I did not much exaggerate in last letter of the 27th November.

His son, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, has succeeded, and in all probability will continue to reign over Oude, if his enemies are not powerful enough to drive him out; and that I believe will not be, though I should not wonder if the Maharattas, Seiks, Jaats, and Rohillas should join the King, and force him to carry a war against us; and indeed, the same bazaar newspaper says that they actually have joined and marched with the intention to wage war with us.

One part of their reasoning is absolutely false; for they say the English have actually coined Sicca Rupees in the name of their own King. The Maharattas, however, cannot gain anything but by war and confusion; before we had the country, they received a fourth

part of the revenue. Sujah-ul-Dowlah had, with our assistance, kept them at a distance and taken possession of Korah and Allahabad, which the King had given to them. Again we have attacked them and taken Salsette, so that they have everything to hope and nothing to lose by a war; we, on the contrary, have nothing to gain. The King surely has not any reason to love us, since we have ceased to pay him the stipulated tribute, and taken Korah and Allahabad from the Maharattas, to whom the King had given them; so that he has nothing to expect, and, God knows, not anything to lose.

I was disappointed of my second review. It was resolved, on Sujah-ul-Dowlah's death, to march another Brigade towards Patna, and to station it at Dinapore; but when the order was to be issued, it was found that there were not any tents ready; for this reason they were under the necessity of taking those in which my corps was encamped, to carry on practice; and we are, therefore, marched into the Fort from Dunn-Dum, after having fired a fortnight, instead of two months; nevertheless the General twice saw us; and though it was the beginning, and the powder is the worst that ever was seen, yet he was well satisfied with our performance.

Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, I find, has obtained a release from the shackles which the Court of Directors formerly laid on all their Artillery. He is to rise in their Bombay Army to any rank to which it may be his turn to rise.

The death of Sujah-ul-Dowlah, and the taking of Salsette, are the only news here: whether these accidents will embroil us or not, time will quickly shew.

I like the country, climate, and people. I have good health—plenty of all good things—ease and cheerfulness. My spirits never flag now, since I have taken water, which alone I drink. I am totally changed. I know not how to grumble or complain now; so that though you may hear me do so upon occasions, you may pronounce me not unhappy. I earnestly wish you health, and happiness, and honor, riches, in the war which I suppose will be the consequence of the death of the King of France. You ask me about iron guns: we have a great many here; I know not where they were cast, but I know they are very indifferent. Two 12-pounders burst on the ramparts in 1770, in firing the morning and evening gun; and one 12-pounder burst on a rejoicing day in firing salutes. It destroyed 7 Europeans and 14 or 15 natives. I excommunicated these iron guns, and substituted brass ones for salutes; and I proved those of the iron guns which were to be used. They would not bear 9 lbs. of Europe powder; they stood 8 lbs. only; 1 out of 30 burst with 8 lbs. and 3 out of 5 burst with 9, which was for experiment of their real strength: for as they were short 12's, and would be medium in thickness, 8 is the proof proportion; for I do not approve of trial by quantity. All guns should be proved by proportion, and not by arbitrary quantities; for which no good reason can be assigned, except that Carpenter Hartwell approves it. Cartridges are made by proportion:—*ergo*, the proof ought to be so.

I have contrived a method of using the quadrant on the outside of the mortar, which at the same time gives a sight to lay them by; and I have fixed screws to all my mortars to elevate them by, from 28° to 90°; and they do not fall back, though they are never lashed; and I have introduced the Desaguliers, and hit a target of 8 feet square 9 times out of 14, at 200 yards in 8 minutes; and 9 times out of 10 in 10 minutes. I have taught my corps to make all things as they are made in the dear, dear Warren.

It was natural to expect that the new counsellors would not be received with open arms by Mr. Hastings, as it was generally reported throughout the Settlement that they came out to prevent abuses which had prevailed. They were anxious to possess themselves of all information regarding the

late transactions of Government ; and, upon a part of the papers relating to the Benares treaty and the Rohilla war being withheld from their examination, on Mr. Hastings' plea of their being private and confidential between himself and Mr. Middleton, Agent at the Vizier's Court, an open rupture and division took place.

The Council now consisted of Mr. Hastings as President, and Mr. Barwell, on one side ; and General Clavering, Mr. Monson and Mr. Francis, at determined variance, on the other. Colonel Pearse, being warmly attached to Mr. Hastings, may be considered as writing in all his letters which concern him and his Government, with those feelings of partiality which a knowledge of these circumstances would presuppose. Perhaps no man's character was ever so enigmatical as Mr. Hastings', and in no cause were adverse parties and feelings ever more warmly agitated.

Colonel Pearse's correspondence breaks off for a time at this period. The unhappy internal dissensions which prevailed were carried to so high a pitch as to threaten the very existence of the British Government in India, and all confidence in private friendship was at an end. During this interval, however, poor Nuncomar suffered ; of which Colonel Pearse, probably as he could not approve, never makes mention in any subsequent letter. General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Mr. Francis constituting a majority in Council, the reins of Government had fallen into their hands, and their constant object was to oppose Mr. Hastings in every instance.

In May 1775, he writes in a short letter to General Pattison :—

I make it a rule never to write news now, because our letters are most commonly opened, as I am convinced this will be, because it will be expected that everybody will be writing about the dissensions which prevail amongst us. I endeavour to steer clear of either party, because I love both ; but though I am silent, the public papers will be full enough ; and you will know all, perhaps better than we do on the spot.

November, 1775.

Poor Hastings ! dear Hastings ! worthy man ! the friend of the Company, and their service ; the guardian angel of the settlement, has been harassed, abused, beset !

In the Military line Mr. Hastings' power is greatly curtailed by General C—— ; he chooses to be an enemy to every one distinguished by the Governor's friendship, or who distinguishes the Governor for his friend.

Let us hope for better times, and in the meantime be as happy as we can.

Those who either loved or were loved by Hastings, became immediately the object of C——'s hatred and resentment. Hastings had been my friend before C—— arrived ; and I esteemed him too much to do as others had done—that is, turned their backs on their old friends to court their new ones. C——, therefore, marked me as one of the Government set, and accordingly he has uniformly done everything to thwart and hurt me, and everything I have asked for myself he refused.

He instituted a Board of Ordnance and made me a member of it ; took all my authority away, and made me a cypher. I was hurt, and complained, as he had put into the Board

a Lieutenant-Colonel Dow, the translator of a miserable history of Hindoostan and the author of two wretched plays. This man is Commissary-General. The Commissary-General is Controller of the Military Accounts. He uniformly attacked me and my Department and I defended myself and officers. This created disputes; and as I was wounded, I was warm; and thus, because my opinions were always contrary to D——'s and D—— is the General's tongue, brains, head, and heart, it was as bad as attacking himself.

By heavens I speak truth without a word of exaggeration! the three who came out hang together, and, of course, everything is given to their own set. If ever I spoke truth in my life, I do it now.

Lady Anne Monson is a fine old lady; everybody likes and respects her, the Miss Claverings, and the old lady; the two former are divine creatures, and the latter very agreeable. With this addition to our settlement, if the General had abided by his first declaration that they were not sent out for retrospection, but to prevent errors in future, we should have been very happy; but when the General heard informers, and learnt the abuses which in the unsettled state of the country were unavoidable, he immediately conceived that there were not any honest men, except those who gave the information; and blinded by his jealousies, his passions, his avarice, and his disappointment, he took for real what proceeded from the very worst of principles: for there never was an informer who was not such from malice, avarice, or envy, either separate or conjoined.

I so much detest the principles and name, that even if I knew of evil I would conceal it, rather than deserve this epithet; but this very honesty of principle makes me still more unfit for his purposes and increases his hatred.

The Board of Ordnance first met in May 1776.

Early in November, 1776, Colonel Monson died, and thus from Mr. Hastings' casting vote, the power again came into his hands.

Several shocks of earthquake were felt this year in India; one of them is thus described: Colonel Pearse writes to General Desaguliers:—

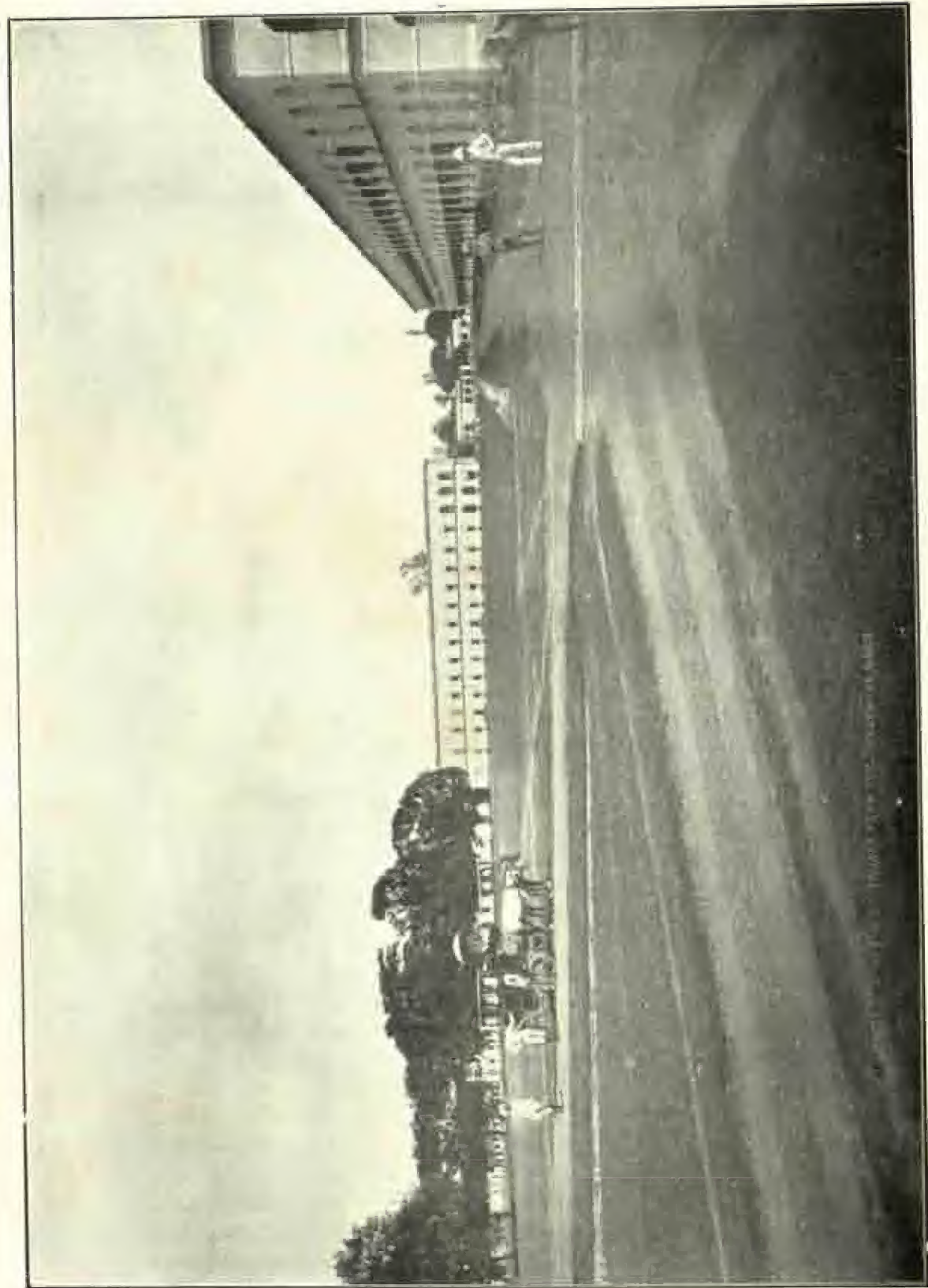
18th December, 1776.

On the 8th instant we had a shock of an earthquake. It began with a shaking of the earth which made the windows and venetians rattle extraordinarily loud 20'. I sat patiently and heard the noise; and then having found what was the cause, I ran out, and when I had reached the ramparts, I felt the earth in violent motion, wave running after wave, not perceptible to my eye, it being dark.

"The earthquake began at 7h. 46m. 5s.; the grand wave* stopped my astronomical clock at 7h. 47m. 15s.; at 7h. 49m. all was over. At Chittagong the shock was felt at 8h. 8m.; at Patna about $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7; now the first is east of us about 20', and the latter west about as much: this shews the difference of latitude considered, that the shock was instantaneous, through a tract of about 800 miles. At Chittagong it made the water rush on the shore like a large wave, which suddenly rose and fell from 3 feet to 7. This is the most violent earthquake I have ever felt, and I have felt several: two this year before it, and one the same evening at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9.

"Doubt not the instantaneity of the shock for agitation of the earth through so vast an extent plainly prove that a real earthquake is perfectly an electrical phenomenon? To me it is most evident, and the more I consider the subject, the more I am confirmed of my

*[Ground wave!]



ARTILLERY BARRACKS, DUM DUM.
(Photo by Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd.)

opinion. A real earthquake I distinguish from those in the neighbourhood of volcanos. These I call shakings of the earth ; and they may be occasioned by both causes : that is, either by electricity, when the volcanos are not in violent irruption, or by violence of the explosion when they are."

TO MR. MULLER.

January, 1777.

I have made a simple instrument for describing parabolas and hyperbolas. I will send you drawings of them. I intend sending it to the Royal Society, together with some astronomical observations.

I must tell you too, that I have contrived a method of grinding specula to the shapes of all Conic Sections, and my machine will be set to work soon for that purpose. Last year I sent to Dr. Maskelyne a complete meteorological journal of the weather for one year ; and shall send him also the construction of my wind-gauge ; notwithstanding Dr. Lind of Edinburgh has been taught by his countryman, Captain Kydd, to make one of the same kind, but portable. Mine was drawn in 1774, and shewn to Kydd, and in 1775 Lind's was printed in the Philosophical transactions. I shall take care to secure my Parabolic compasses by sending them before anybody can give an account of them.

You mention in your Artillery, tubes which fire the cartridge without piercing it ; such were in use here when I arrived. They are only common copper tubes, lined with mealed powder, so as to have a free passage through the middle of the powder, and it is inconceivable how great the force of the fire is. The flame strikes through the thickest cartridge. They used to peick the cartridge, but I have left it off and cut the tubes shorter, and they never miss when they are good ; but my labours are all in vain here : I cannot get thanks : at home, I should get money and thanks too.

24th March, 1777.

I have had my corps reviewed twice : first by the Governor, who was excessively pleased, and thanked us in orders ; and next, by the General, who also thanked us. It was our good performance forced the General's thanks ; he would have been better pleased to have found fault : first, because we pleased the Governor ; next, because I commanded and had myself disciplined them.

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

" 25th March, 1777.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I have had the good luck to invent an instrument for laying mortars ; and I have applied a screw to elevate them ; all which, as it is red hot from the forge of invention, must be new to you.

" I have so little interest with the Directors, that I thought it might be of service to send home a full description of the contrivance : especially as it has answered my most sanguine expectations, and has surprised everybody here.

" I shewed it to the Governor at the review, which honor he conferred upon the corps. Captain Farmer of the Royal Navy was there. He saw how well it answered. I believe I really was happy that day. Not one

circumstance had I to lessen the pleasure I received from the good performance of my corps, as a Battalion of Infantry, as a Battalion of Artillery with 16 cannons, and as a body of Artillery on service in their batteries: for we went through all these exercises, and equally well.

"The Saturday following, General Clavering reviewed us, and what gave me most pleasure was, to hear that he had said in private, he had reviewed most of the King's Regiments, and never saw any perform better."

TO GENERAL DESAGULIERS.

"26th March, 1777."

"The newspapers have astonished me, I there find that a gun of your invention has been fired 22 times in a minute. Although it is impossible any gun can stand this 10 minutes, yet it is an amazing performance, nor can I conceive how it is done."

"I have introduced your instrument, and we can hit a target 8 feet square, at 200 yards, 9 times out of 10 indeed when once we have hit it, it is very difficult to miss; and we fire 10 rounds in 8 minutes."

TO SIR ROBERT BAKER.

"25th March, 1777."

"I have written to Pattison, and to Desaguliers, and to my friend and preceptor Muller, on the subject of an instrument of my invention for laying mortars.

"I have to apologize for the liberty I take in sending a box to you, but more so when I come to make my request that you will present the contents of it to the Royal Society, of which I understand you are a member. The box contains a model of an instrument for describing parabolas, with the alteration necessary to make it describe hyperbolas. I send it, though in an unfinished state, to secure it to myself lest I should be served as I was about my wind-gauge. There is one so exactly like it in the Transactions, from Dr. Lind of Edinburgh, who does not say it is his own invention, that from the time it appeared, and from the discourses I had with Kydd whether a fluid would not be better than a weight I cannot help thinking Kydd has sent home this instrument to Lind, or at least a full drawing of it. Now Kydd, having once seen it, made me several subsequent visits, and always about the wind-gauge. His, indeed, is portable, and mine was for a weathercock; his is executed, and mine only drawn; but nevertheless I do conceive that I have better claim to the wind-gauge than he can have. The fluid, and the different fluids to be used occasionally, were all talked of here in very nearly the same words.

"You wish for the dimensions of the Observatory at Benares : I will send home a model of it next year, to be presented to the Royal Society, if you please ; for I shall send it to you as your own."

TO MR. MULLER.

" 26th March, 1777.

Are all our Artillerists asleep ? I do not hear of any improvements at home : for I cannot think the introduction of a paltry 3-pr. upon a galloper carriage is one, though Congreve constructed the carriage, and Phillips is the gun. The people of this country use swivels which they fire from the backs of camels. The creature kneels down for man to point the gun. Now I am persuaded this is as good as the 3-pr. fling gun. Perhaps if somebody would put it into Phillips' head, he might persuade Lord Townsend to send to Arabia for camels, unless he has caught the contagion and believes that all are rogues, knaves and fools on this side of the sea. I hope was not a specimen of your good things, the virtuous, or the noble, that was sent out to us for our general Council in 1774. They gave but a bad idea of the produce of your island.

In consequence of the death of General Sir John Clavering, in August 1777, Brigadier-General Giles Stibbert, became provisional Commander-in-Chief, and Colonel Pearse writes to his uncle, Admiral Mann :—

" Fort William, 16th January, 1778.

" I told you how miserable Clavering made us ; in joy of heart I tell you he is no more.

" Mr. Hastings' Agent had made what he thought a surrender of the Chair at home ; the Directors had accepted the resignation, and Clavering was to succeed : but it was all provisional ; it was not to take place without his pleasure ; his resignation therefore was not complete : what they had granted was merely leave to resign if he pleased.

" On the receipt of the news which arrived on the 19th June 1777, the old man demanded the keys, and looking upon himself as Governor-General, he actually took the oaths and summoned a Council in his own name. Mr. Hastings, who was the real Governor, and who had not resigned, and Mr. Barwell, composed the majority in Council ; and they took the steps necessary to prevent the Madras game* from being played. But matters were here quite different : the whole settlement adored Mr. Hastings, and as perfectly detested Clavering ; the whole Army were of the same way of thinking ; the Judges gave the opinion unanimously, that the Chair was not vacant, and the notification of this opinion gave universal satisfaction. Such was the unanimity of the Army against Clavering, that his attempts to form a party were absolutely vain. The chagrin this defeat occasioned, sunk deep into his mind : from that day the seeds of death began to shoot—his inveteracy increased—he began to talk of what he would do—whom he would make repent—and so forth ; but death stepped in and stopped his career and

* The arrest and imprisonment of Lord Pigot, in 1776, by his opponents in Council at Madras.

saved your friend : for I was one who was to have been sacrificed to his resentment and malignity.

"Peace now reigns amongst us ; we are again a happy people. Clavering's name is hardly ever mentioned, and never with respect, except by five or six at most ; I mean of those who do yet remember him ; but the greater part know they have escaped from a great danger. His opinion of all who were before him was uniform ; and though to carry on business he was obliged to select some, yet they all knew he meant to fill their places by another set, which he hoped to obtain from England. It may be said this is mere supposition ; to prevent which, take this which follows as a proof :—

"About 15 commissions for Captains were vacant, with others also in the Inferior ranks. As was always usual, it was proposed to fill up the commissions before the ships arrived, to prevent the mortification which must be the consequence of appointments from home, and which would be infinitely worse if those were superseded for whom commissions had been long vacant. To this he objected, and urged a reason, that he expected officers from England to fill the vacancies. You need not wonder now that the whole army took the alarm, and looked upon the man who ought to have been their protector, as their inveterate enemy ; they did so, and he felt it to his death.

"The promotion took place to his great mortification. As I had several vacancies, I used my utmost endeavours to get them filled ; and this he called, taking an active part against him. I gave him the list for promotion ; he muttered something, the words of which I could not hear, but the meaning was, he would not forward it ; but as he found the promotion would be moved and carried, he was at length forced to give in the list. Thus, doing barely my duty gave offence, and was deemed taking a part against him. Under such a man, who could hope for justice ? but gone he is, and may we never fall under the lot of such another !"

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

"You were preparing to go to India House about the Madras revolution ; very nearly had we one in this place, but the hatred of all ranks for the deceased prevented his using the military power to take by force the Chair, as was done at Madras. The General, by the advice of one Folk,* sent to demand the keys from Mr. Hastings. He also summoned a Council in his own name, as Governor-General, and before the only Member of Council (Mr. Francis) who attended and the Secretary, this Folk, and one Laccam, he took the oaths and usurped the Chair ; he sent for the Persian translator, and ordered him to translate the proclamation into Persian, and to make

* Fowke.

known his appointment to the Chair; and he drew out orders for the garrison to acknowledge and proclaim him.

"The Persian translator, Sir John D'Oyly, a man of great spirit, truth, and honor, begged to decline doing it, till he knew the authority, as hitherto he had not been acquainted with any change of Government. The General gave his own orders, and shewed him the paragraph of the Directors' letter, on which he grounded his right to the Chair. Sir John read it over very attentively, and more than once, and then politely again declined; being ordered, he refused and left him. Whilst this was transacting at Government House, Mr. Hastings was sitting in Council of Revenue with Mr. Barwell, at the Revenue Council House, carrying on the common business, and little suspecting that it had entered the General's mind to act the farce that was carrying on; but he was soon obliged to lay aside the Revenue business to consider a letter which he then received from General Clavering, demanding the keys, and declaring himself to be Governor-General. He instantly took the necessary precautions, sent his orders into the Fort to the Commanding Officer to prevent his being surprised into any act of disobedience by the orders he might receive from General Clavering, acquainting him that the General demanded the Chair and keys, that he had sent to inquire the opinion of the Judges, and was determined to abide by their opinion; but in the meantime he commanded that no other person should be received as Governor-General, and that General Clavering should not be suffered to enter the Fort. It happened to be second in command and was accordingly sent for. The guards were strengthened, the gates shut, and it became necessary to endeavour to find how men stood affected. A few moments were sufficient to do that; for unanimity prevailed, and all equally dreaded the change. The Judges unanimously declared their opinion, that the Chair was not vacant; that Mr. Hastings' resignation was not, nor could not be full at home; that all the orders from home indicated that it was something to be done in future, and at his own option; not completed, nor binding on him to complete it.

"The consequence was that Mr. Hastings and Barwell declared his (General C.'s) Commission null and void, made so by his own acts; and they therefore declared that he should not again be summoned to Council, or hold any command or power whatever.

"The Judges, however, gave it as their opinion that there was not in India any power competent to remove a Member of Council from the Board. To show the moderation of Mr. Hastings, he acquiesced in the opinion of the Judges, and suffered the General, or Governor-General self-elected, to resume his command and the functions of his office.† His death, however, soon

† For the story of this transaction see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. I., pp. 47-53; Vol. II., pp. 230-233.

relieved us all, and I esteem it to be the luckiest event that has happened to the Company, if not to the nation.

"General Clavering I know you told me was your friend; it may therefore seem presumptuous in me to say so much, but I merely narrate, and adhere to facts only, which could be asserted by numbers. You know Clavering as a private gentleman; I know him as a man in power: this makes the difference of our opinions; for certain it is that power changes the nature of men totally; and the more I examine men and manners, the more I am convinced that every man has his price, and that we all should show how prone the heart of man is to evil, if our price were offered.

"General Clavering's knighthood was proclaimed by a salute of 17 guns on the 1st July. I went to him at the head of my corps on that day and addressed him thus: 'Sir, the corps of Artillery which I command, beg leave to pay their respects, and to congratulate you on occasion of the honor which his Majesty has been pleased to confer upon you.' He hardly bowed, turned from me with a frown, and selected from my corps a subaltern officer, whom he accosted by name, took him by the hand, inquired how he did, then turned short from twenty officers and myself, who had waited on him, without another word. After some little time the whole retired, shocked at the incivility they had met with. The other corps avoided the like mortification by not going.

"I have not neglected my professional studies, I assure you, as I hope my new mortar instrument will shew you. You may judge of the labor I had to make these instruments which I have now completed, one for each mortar, when I tell you that there is not an instrument maker in the country, and that I have been forced to bore barometer tubes to make my levels. I was first obliged to contrive how, and then to teach others the method; after which I was obliged to learn how to close and fill them, but difficulties soon vanish when a man is resolved. The dividing quadrants I am obliged to perform entirely with my own hands; and so I am forced to put them together, and adjust them for use. Thus I have been obliged to learn a trade; perhaps it may be lucky for me, as I may be forced to quit this service to earn my bread elsewhere."

"Fort William, 18th January, 1778."

Colonel Pearse, during this year, paid great attention to the interior of Fort William, proposing many alterations for the purpose of better providing for the health and comfort of the Garrison; also several very able memorials, showing the state of the corps and praying for alterations, were submitted to Government, the subsequent adoption of which have tended, in no small degree, to the prosperity of the corps.

In the beginning of 1778, a detachment of Artillery under Major Bailey, called the Bombay detachment, went on service from Bengal, with an army under Colonel Leslie. This force was appointed to march across India to support the Bombay troops in restoring Ragobah in the Government of Poonah. In consequence of the want of European Artillery several companies of Golundauze, or Native Artillery, had been raised at the suggestion of Colonel Pearse and brought into fine discipline; and the following order, which was issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard in camp, reflects very high credit upon the corps; as a part of them marched with Colonel Leslie's detachment. Colonel Leslie dying on the 31d October, Colonel Goddard had succeeded to the command.

Copy of order by Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard, 1st November 1778:—

The unmilitary and unexampled spirit of disaffection to the service, which has so manifestly displayed itself in the frequent desertions from the corps of Cavalry and Infantry within few days, is become a matter of the most serious and important consideration.

The Commanding Officer, therefore, thinks it necessary to declare his sentiments upon the occasion fully to the Army, and to express the indignation and surprise he feels at such conduct, as well as the astonishment and displeasure the report of it will create in the minds of the Honorable the Governor-General and Council after the particular indulgences they continue to confer upon the Sepoys in their service, by the superior pay and other advantages they receive above all other troops in Hindoostan, which they enjoy at ease and luxury within the Company's provinces for years.

This is a proof of ingratitude too striking and too injurious to the characters of soldiers to admit of any excuse; that under the circumstances of our present situation, with the probability of an enemy to feel the force of the British arms they should hourly desert their colours from which they have derived, and still may derive, a plentiful support on account of the partial inconveniences to which they are subjected on any particular occasions of active services.

The Commanding officer, with much pleasure, excepts the corps of Artillery in the foregoing observations. Their steadiness, fidelity, and military conduct claim his particular thanks; and he desires the Commanding officer will assure himself that he will make proper mention of their merits to the Honorable the Governor-General in Council.

In July 1778, intelligence was received in Bengal that hostilities had commenced in Europe between the French and English. The public declaration of war, however, had not reached India*; notwithstanding which the British Government of India, not doubting the fact and conceiving the act justified by prudence, seized upon the French settlements of Chandernagore, Masulipatam and Carical; and sent an army against Pondicherry, which was the only strong place of arms remaining in possession of the French in India.

The Madras Army took the field, under Sir Hector Munro, to lay siege to Pondicherry, on the land side; and the British squadron, under

* The writer of the *Memoir* is in error. News of the war was received in Calcutta on July 7th. Chandernagore was seized on the 10th.

Sir Edward Vincent, sailed from Madras, to attack the settlement by sea. The French squadron under Monsieur Tronjolly, of superior force to the English, was attacked on the 10th August; and though the fleets were engaged upwards of an hour with great fury, the only advantage gained on the part of the English was, that the French ships sheered off, and the English, being disabled in their rigging, could not overtake them.

Sir Edward Vernon, having refitted his squadron, sailed into Pondicherry Roads on the evening of the 21st, which the French fleet did not oppose, and under favor of the night escaped. The public notification of the war did not reach Bengal, however, until 29th November following, when Colonel Pearse writes to his uncle, Admiral Mann, as follows:—

"Fort William, 30th November, 1778.

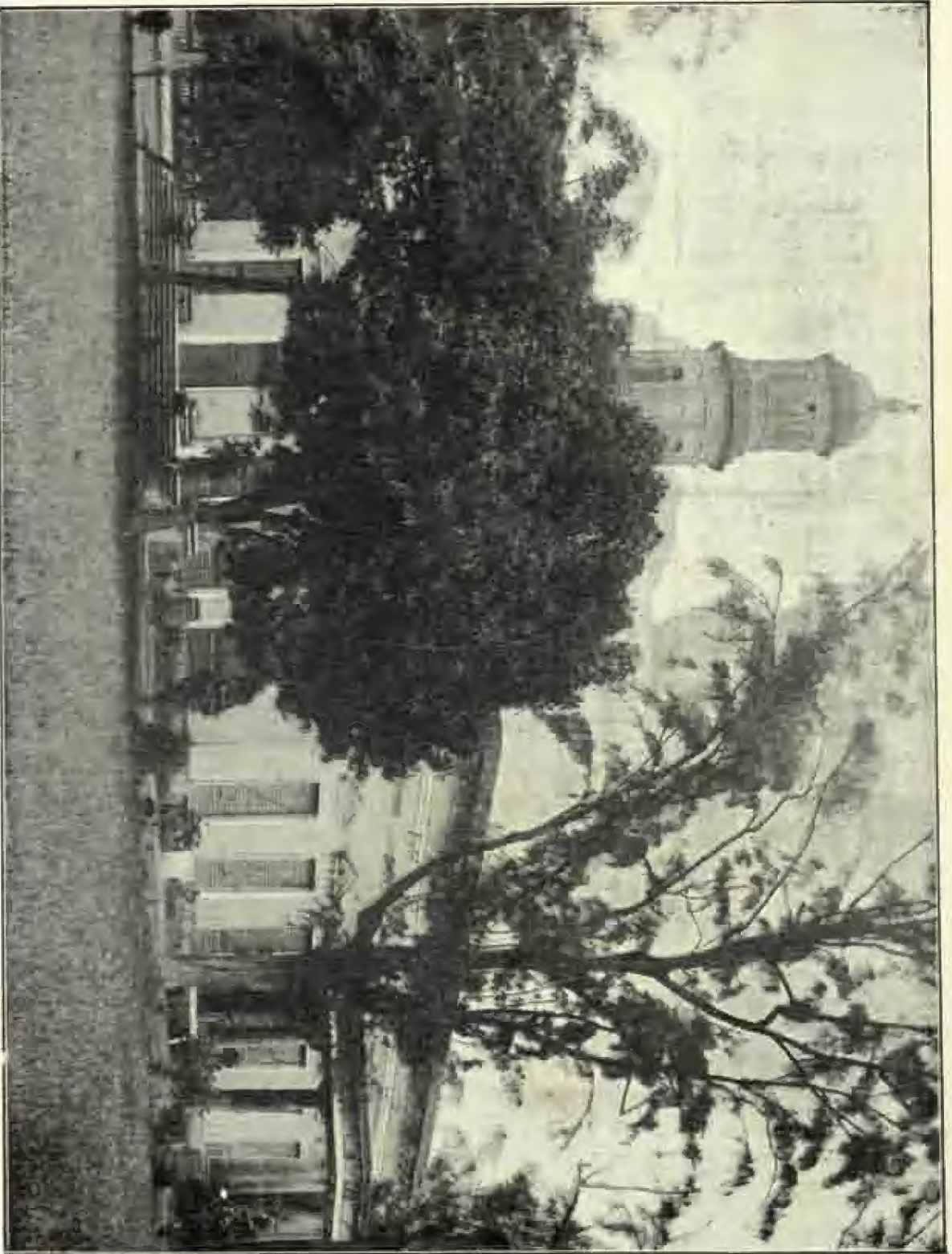
"The war which we heard of yesterday, I mean the declaration, (for we have taken Pondicherry and Chandernagore and are gone against Mahé,) will, I presume, so much employ you, that I hope you will excuse my sending home, a power of attorney, making my friend Lionel Darrel my joint attorney with you, as the war which is to rage for these 10 years, perhaps, or until Carthage is destroyed, will no doubt give you full employment."

TO LIONEL DARREL, ESQ.

"Pondicherry fell in October last, after a siege that made us all despair. We fitted out a fleet, if our ships may be called so; two of 40 guns each went to assist at Pondicherry, under Joe Price, the other two fell down a day or two ago under Richardson. Our Army was augmented, and my corps came in for its share; two companies were added, and three battalions of Native Artillery, called Golondauze; they are in fact the same we had, being raised from the pick of Lascars, but with European officers to command them.

"Three regiments of Cavalry were raised. Goddard is the Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Cavalry Brigade. Leslie was on an expedition with Goddard. Leslie died—Goddard commands it—Stibbert commands in chief—Ironside is coming into command here—Morgan commands at Berhampore—Hampton (now a Lieutenant-Colonel) commands at Cawnpore and Upton at Chunar; these are all my seniors now.

"Our fleet had a fight with a very unequal French fleet off Pondicherry; and though we were deemed the victorious party, we could not boast of any decisive advantage at sea, till one of their fleet was taken, and the rest, in consequence, went off. By the time this happened, Pondicherry was then invested or nearly so. The batteries were opened on the 17th September with 28 cannon and 27 mortars; and the place surrendered on the 19th October after a most gallant defence and very tedious siege.



St. Stephen's Church, Dordrecht.



SOUTH MOAT OF OLD CAMPING GROUNDS,
DIAMOND HARBOUR ROAD.



LARGE TANK IN CENTRE OF CAMPING GROUNDS.
(Photo by Rev. W. K. Pinnings.)

"The capitulation will disgrace our annals for ever. Bellcombe called us *banditti*—said we attacked before war was declared—and at last made us confess we were what he called us, by stipulating that the place should not be destroyed till we knew there was war—glossed it over by saying 'till we receive advices from Europe.' An army is gone against Mahé,* the only place the French have left."

In November 1778, Colonel Pearse received intelligence of his father's death at an advanced age. The ease of his latter days had been secured by constant annual remittances from his son, not only for his own support, but for a daughter's, the sister of Colonel Pearse, for whose maintenance he continued to send home a handsome income.

The Council of Bengal and Madras were at this time struggling with internal dissensions, giving rise to all the violence of party spirit amongst the European population of the two Presidencies. Violent as these were, and destructive of the peace of the community, another source of animosity now appeared, originating from the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Judicature and its attempts to extend its jurisdiction. This Court had been constituted by Act of Parliament in 1773. The Judges were appointed by the King, from which the power of Court emanated. The Court was framed of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. It was a Court of Common Law, a Court of Equity, a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol delivery; an Ecclesiastical Court, and a Court of Admiralty. The principal object of Parliament in constituting this Court was, to secure the pure administration of the English Law to the subjects of the British Government in India, and by appointing Judges on fixed and liberal salaries to prevent the abuses of Judicature, by securing the emoluments of the Judges from increase or diminution by the payment of fees. The Parliament enacted that a sufficient salary should be fixed for the Judges, and that no additional emoluments, in the shape of fees by suitors, or in any other form, should accrue from their judicial functions. The principle was honorable to the Parliament of Britain; but when the King's Court proceeded to act in India with unlimited powers, the authority of the Supreme Council of the East India Company was paralyzed. The clashing of the two authorities had been foreseen by many, but the Parliament had neglected to provide against it, by prescribing bounds for either. The Supreme Court began to exert its unlimited sway in 1774, and held out to the native population, that they had all the rights of free Englishmen, and that, in point of law, there was no inferiority; that their power was above that of the Courts of the East India Company, and that the natives were at liberty to throw themselves for redress from the sentences of

* Mahé (properly Mahé) surrendered on the 19th of March 1779.

these Courts, upon the Supreme Court, where they would obtain redress and protection.

It may well be supposed that this language to the Asiatics, whose forefathers for generations had been accustomed to despotic government, was not very applicable to them, nor could the natives readily apply it to use, as they could not comprehend the *bonus* which the Parliament of England had given them. Ridiculous as well as distressing and vexatious misapplications of the blessing on their part daily occurred, in which it was discovered too late, that the authority of the Supreme Council was set at naught. Moreover, the principles of the English law were in many instances at direct variance with their religious and moral laws; and the natives, both Hindoos and Mussulmen, soon began to look upon the operations of the Court with horror and consternation. The evils (says Mr. Mills) not of apprehension merely, but of actual suffering, to which it exposed them, were deplorable. They were dragged from their families and affairs, with the frequent certainty of leaving them to disorder and ruin, any distance, even as great as 500 miles, to give bail at Calcutta; a thing which, if they were strangers and the sum more than trifling, it was next to impossible they should have in their power, or be consigned to prison for all the many months which the delays of English Judicature might interpose between this calamitous stage and the final termination of the suit. Upon the affidavit, into the truth of which no inquiry whatever was made—upon the unquestioned affidavit of any person whatever a person of credibility or directly the reverse, no difference, if the individuals prosecuted were within the jurisdiction of the Court, the natives were seized, carried to Calcutta, and consigned to prison, where, even if it was afterwards determined that they were not within the jurisdiction of the Court, and, of course, that they had been unjustly prosecuted, they were liable to lie for several months; from whence they were dismissed totally without compensation. Instances occurred in which the defendants were brought from a distance to the Presidency, and when they declared their intention of pleading, that is, objecting to the jurisdiction of the Court, the prosecution was dropped; in which case the prosecution was again renewed, the defendant again brought down to Calcutta, and again, upon his offering to plead, the prosecution was dropped. The very act of being seized was, in India, a circumstance of the deepest disgrace, and so degraded a man of any rank, that, under the Mahomedan Government, it was never attempted, except in case of the greatest delinquency.

It was soon found that the payment of the revenues was evaded by the natives; and the public servants of the Company, in endeavouring by the customary modes to obtain payment of them, subjected themselves to the

operations of the Supreme Court, and were apprehended for trial and brought to Calcutta; and this threat was held out *in terrorem* over all the Company's servants. The Judges at the time were, Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey, Mr. Justice Hyde and Mr. Justice LeMaistre.*

The King's Judges at last proceeded so far as to require the Secretary to the Council to attend as evidence in the Supreme Court; and not only himself, but the members of the Council were threatened with action for not producing papers containing the most secret transactions of Government.

The natives of the Province of Bahar drew up a petition to the Governor and Council, praying for protection against the process of the Supreme Court, or if that could not be granted, for leave to relinquish their arms, that they might retire to another country.

Paltry Attornies, promulgating the authority of the Supreme Court, spread themselves over the country, encouraging the native spirit of litigation, and, acting under the sanction of the King's Judges, proceeded in several instances to execute processes against all ranks at the suits of people of the lowest description; and one Attorney at Patna proceeded by force to the house of the Phousdar of Dacca, against whom a process of arrest had been instituted by him, and breaking down the gate of his house, entered by force; and, in the affray which took place, the father of the Phousdar was wounded by a sword, and the Phousdar himself dangerously wounded by a pistol shot from the Attorney. This violent proceeding was justified by the Supreme Court: and innumerable instances of violence supported by law took place.

Mr. Rons† was at this time Advocate-General of the East India Company, a man of superior character and wisdom, and fortunately, in this crisis of affairs, was at hand to afford his advice to the Supreme Council. At length the Governor-General and Council came to the resolution of issuing a notification, by the advice of Mr. Rons, to all Zemindars, Chaudharces, and Talukdars in the three Provinces, that, except in the two cases of being British servants, or bound by their own agreement, they were not to consider themselves as subject to the Supreme Court, or to obey its process; and the provincial Chiefs were forbidden to lend a military force to aid the Court in carrying its mandates into effect. The Judges upon this appeared to lose all temper; they imprisoned and confined Mr. Naylor, Attorney of the Company, and commenced a criminal prosecution against him. The Governor-General and Council were individually served with a summons from the Supreme Court, which, by the advice of Mr. Rons, and through him, they delivered their declaration that they would not submit to.

* The writer ignores Mr. Justice Robert Chambers.

† The name was Rons.

of Parliament was not passed to protect the British subjects, but to protect the natives against the British subjects; that *Magna Charta* did not extend to India, and those who were so fond of it must enjoy it in England.

"I hardly need to tell that the consequence was general dismay; the words passed like fire through the settlement, and every creature found he was attacked and stripped of his birthright-privileges; all now united as against a dragon who would devour them. Some who had time and abilities for the task, returned and drew up a petition to the Court, claiming the right to juries; but knowing the probable answer, from the declaration before mentioned, they prepared also a petition to Parliament praying for the right, and for the redress of many other grievances which this Court had introduced. I give you my word of honor I was not one who helped to draw it up, but I own I wish I had been. After they were drawn up, I was told of it by a friend, and that a meeting would be held at the playhouse to read the petitions and to sign them. I went, heard the petitions, and most cheerfully signed both.

"Afterwards the subscribers chose a committee to keep the petitions, and to get them signed, and to forward the business; the number chosen was twelve; and it pleased the gentlemen assembled to make me one of the members.

"When the petition to the Court was ready we carried it up, and on the day fixed on, the committee went for their answer. Judge of our astonishment, when, to the refusal we expected, we found insult and contempt added, and heard, in illiberal language, a false charge brought against us. It was said, that before the petition to Parliament was shown to subscribers, promises had been exacted to subscribe. It had been resolved that the petition to Parliament should be kept by the committee, and signed before them, that no copies of it might be taken. The corps I commanded was at Dum-Dum, eight miles from town; and as my officers wished to see it but could not go to town, I carried it to them; and one field morning after breakfast (for you are to understand all the officers were accustomed to breakfast at my tents after every field day), I read it to them. When I had so done, I told them, if they conceived it to be a matter which concerned them as British subjects, they, of course, would sign it; if they did not, they were requested not to mention the contents.

"I was on my guard not to say anything that could act to determine them to sign, as in compliance with my wish or will, well knowing whom I had to deal with. My whole corps signed, and I carried it back to town at night. When, therefore, the Judges charged us with exacting promises to sign, as I knew it was an absolute falsehood with respect to myself, I replied, that I could answer for myself that I had not done it, and for the officers of

the corps I commanded, a long list of whose names was annexed to the petition, that they had not made any promise, that when I read the petition to them, I told them what I before mentioned.

"Thus you have had a full and true account of what I did; but it seems the Chief Justice, whose pride is only to be equalled with his heat of temper, is so much offended with me that he is to write home to have me dismissed from the service. I dare suppose he will attempt it, and therefore furnish you with this narrative, which, as to the fact, I will swear to, though not to all the words spoken by others.

"I have told you that the alarm spread in an instant. There was afterwards another of a different kind, from which a presage may be formed of the future. The Mahommedans carry the representations of the tombs of two saints, named Hassan and Hosein, in procession in the month of Mohurram: this year that month fell in our January. On the two last days the processions march; and on the last of all, about noon, they carry the supposed saints, and bury them. This, which is the most solemn act of the Shii Mahommedan religion, is attended with wallings, and cries of Ya Hosein! Ya Hassan! and accompanied with drums, trumpets, and other instruments; and at this time it is almost sacrilege to come near them.

"A procession of this kind (it was the last and the most magnificent), stopped in front of the Court house. The noise disturbed the Judges, and they sent the Deputy Sheriff with his white wand to drive them away. As he was not able to accomplish it he imprudently struck one of them with his wand; instantly the enraged multitude assailed the Court house. Bricks, and whatever came to hand they threw at it, but happily for us, they did not kill anybody; a Military force was sent for, and the procession dispersed.

"This showed the protectors of the poor oppressed natives, that they held their protectors in the utmost detestation; but showed the rest of the Europeans, that the respect the natives used to hold them in, was gone. And as we know that the Mahommedans believe that those who die fighting for their religion do instantly go to paradise, that they are bound by the commands of God to keep the Mohurram and the Shii, to celebrate the death of these saints; so we know that enthusiasm will make them determine to maintain the right of British subjects (an idea given them by our Court), to celebrate their religion in the manner of their forefathers. And as they have been taught that those who are struck may strike again, and after all prosecute those who struck them first, so we may conclude that this will be the foundation of future disturbances, which, beginning with Ya Hosein! may end in the thunder of cannon or the groans of murdered Europeans.

"To conclude, this first instance of spirit of resistance and contempt of Europeans, showed the inhabitants what they may expect hereafter, when the spirit of equality shall be more diffused. We do seriously and sincerely believe there will be much bloodshed, in consequence of the interruption to religious ceremonies, whenever that shall happen; and we know that the Portuguese lost India for only attempting to pull down an idol. And I know that a common *fakier* of reputed sanctity might very easily instigate the Mahomedans to rise to a war enthusiasm; is not yet quite dead—that is a serpent that will never die."

"I have related facts; I have not exaggerated. I have not spoken of any points but those which mark plain facts; but I do declare that this tumult could not have happened if this Court had never been instituted; and it is my opinion that either this Court must withdraw, or that these provinces must be lost; for the Europeans will either be massacred, or driven out in a very few years, if the Court continues here.

"Assist to save the settlement and

"Your friends and kinsman,

T. D. P."

In another letter to General Pattison, Colonel Pearse writes:—

"What has become of America, is not certain; but from all accounts we have, we conclude, it is severed from the British Empire, and we lament it seriously; many of us wished to have ended our days there, had it retained the same form of Government.

"The Supreme Court was established in 1774; and we are all now in a state here which is most disagreeable. The prospect of relief keeps us alive. A petition has been sent to Parliament signed by 550 inhabitants of this settlement, and more will yet sign, though there are not above 800 Europeans in the place exclusive of private soldiers, seamen, and lawyers."

Early in 1779, another large detachment of Artillery was ordered to march under Major Camac, with two Battalions, to join the Army under Lieutenant-Colonel Goddard; and Colonel Pearse mentions the train with that Army as the largest, and on the most important service, that ever marched in India. The detachment, however, did not march until June, as the following General Order vouches:—

GENERAL ORDER BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"The General Order, dated the 14th May, specifying that Major Camac, and the detachment under his command, is to proceed to Berhampore, and the presidency is revoked. Major Camac is ordered with the whole detachment to march to Dinapore, there to remain until further orders.

"The guns, stores, &c., belonging to the detachment are to remain in the magazine at Patna. On the arrival of the detachment at Dinapore, the 35th Battalion of sepoys

commanded by Captain Moses Crawford is ordered to march from thence and take post at Paggah for the protection of that district."

In March 1779, Lieutenant-General Sir E. Coote, K.B., arrived from England with the commission of Commander-in-Chief. From representations, grounded on error, blind infatuation, and party views, alarm had been taken by the Court of Directors and by the Government, that it was dangerous to teach the natives the use of Artillery. The corps of Golundauze, which had so faithfully served the Government, was ordered to be disbanded, the men having the option of enlisting as Sepoys or Lascars. To entertain as Sepoys, the Golundauze were very unwilling; and as Lascars, they considered themselves degraded; not only from the duties the latter had to perform, but also from being placed upon inferior pay. The consequence was, that many Golundauze deserted; others refused to entertain in any corps, and requested to go to their homes; and these men, in many subsequent actions with the enemy, were found filling their ranks and serving the enemy's artillery with undaunted bravery, steadiness, and effect.

Soon after General Sir Eyre Coote's arrival, it was rumoured about Calcutta that Sir Eyre Coote had brought authority to disband the Golundauze; and as this was a favorite corps of Colonel Pearse's and deservedly so, because he had not only formed it, but brought it into a fine state of discipline, it may be supposed that he readily took the alarm, and endeavoured to prevent it being reduced.

Colonel Pearse had unfortunately many enemies in high rank in Calcutta, Mr. Francis's and General Clavering's faction and Mr. Hastings' adherents kept up all those feelings of rancour which had been so long disturbing the peace of the settlement. One of the chief opposers of Colonel Pearse was Colonel Watson, commanding the Engineers; and as he had vowed the overthrow of the Golundauze, and had considerable influence, he urged Sir Eyre Coote to proceed in this unfortunate measure. Colonel Pearse, however, determined that this injustice to these faithful servants should not take place, if he could prevent it; he therefore exerted himself as became him in the situation which he held. Those readers who may recollect the Golundauze at Cawnpore, under the late Major Hay, may well conceive how deeply it must have wounded Colonel Pearse to see a similar corps sacrificed to jealousy and party views; and there is every reason to suppose that Colonel Pearse's Golundauze were equal to Major Hay's, which is saying everything, for there never was a corps better

* The disturbance was clearly preconcerted. Messengers were sent through the town to proclaim an alleged order from the Faunder of Chitpur to the effect that no palanquins should be allowed in the streets during Moharrum. Europeans, absolutely ignorant of this, of course, went out in their palanquins and were mobbed.—EDITORS, *B. P. & P.*

disciplined. The true secret of the hue and cry against the Golundauze and the cause of their first downfall, it is now believed, is pretty fairly stated in the following letter from Colonel Pearse to General Sir Eyre Coote. The letter also affords a proof of the superior discernment of this distinguished officer, in the remarks about the effect of Artillery in Brigades instead of pairs of guns, the superior effect of the fire of which has been so decidedly proved of late in Europe; and this distribution of Artillery has at length been established in India by our present illustrious Commander-in-Chief.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B., COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"SIR,

"It seems impossible to furnish European Artillery enough for the services of this establishment, because we are liable to be attacked at the two extremities, and they are at such a distance as to render it impossible to afford speedy assistance. For this reason it appears the more necessary to establish Native Artillery. I am entirely of opinion that it would be better not to teach the Natives the art of Artillery, and so it would to have kept them ignorant of the whole art of war; but the impossibility of doing either is evident, since the desertion of a few Artillery soldiers, if skilful in their profession, would have been sufficient to render all precaution useless; and the fact is that Sujah-ul-Dowlah had Golundauze who could fire salutes with one gun, and they did it: how far they were masters of the other part of the art, I cannot say. That the natives are capable of learning the whole, I myself do not doubt; I know they may be taught anything if the person who undertakes to instruct will only take pains to explain his own meaning thoroughly and with temper; and I think it would therefore be much to the detriment of our service not to make use of the men we have.

"Although the name Golundauze is new, there have been native Artillery in the service these ten years: for every battalion since 1770 had two guns attached to it, for which they set apart 30 sepoy, who were taught the exercises. Therefore whatever mischief may be apprehended from having Native Artillery, we were then liable to, though we could not then derive all the advantages we now may. By collecting and giving them officers, the discipline becomes uniform; and when guns are detached for service, officers can be afforded. It was to very little purpose that two guns were fixed to battalions; they served to ornament the flank on field days; but I believe very little real service was to be expected from them. They had not any Artillery officers, and yet guns in the field require the most skill to manage them; but unless the officers are regularly trained to it, there are many points that will not be acquired. To point a gun is so easy, that any man may learn it in a minute; but to manage the gun so as to produce the best effect, several things must be attended to; the nature of the ground, the

distances, and the charges. To perform this, two Artillery soldiers were detached; very few of them understood these things: in fact, they are not taught it to the degree necessary for them to be left to themselves; this is the duty of the officers and non-commissioned officers, though some privates do know it also from practice and observation. By being their own masters, though they went out good men, they returned drunken vagabonds; and this I can affirm to be a fact, and so very few were the exceptions, that I may say it was general. With the two Europeans some Lascars were sent; they, though they were of the Artillery, were only employed to drag the gun; they were unarmed and undisciplined; but they served for many menial offices which made them desirable to the Captains of the battalions. Every battalion which had these guns, though nominally seven hundred Infantry, was only six hundred and seventy Infantry and thirty Artillery; for so many men they generally set apart for the guns. Now every Battalion acts with its whole force, and every gun detached may be of service. The men will be under their own officers; their discipline will not much suffer; and if it does, by returning to the corps it will be restored, which I think could not be the case before. But I must beg leave to give an opinion against Battalion guns; cannon in small brigades, brought to the points necessary, will do infinitely more service than when scattered along the whole line. This was found by experience the best mode last war, and in the latter campaigns was generally practised. Each of these had an officer whose superior rank gave him superior advantages; the cannon were better looked after, and in action produced most effect; and I imagine this must ever hold good in all services.

"With respect to the native Artillery it is to be observed, that, if by any means they lose their cannon, being armed and disciplined, they may instantly become Infantry; whereas by being unarmed as the Artillery Lascars were, they became a mob as soon as they lost their cannon. Those I have trained, perform all the duties the Lascars were wont to perform, I mean the Artillery Lascars: they make the stores and manage the park; it is true their duties are the more laborious, and it might therefore be worthy of consideration, whether they ought not to have a small addition to their pay; were they only allowed half a rupee a month more, there would not be any fear of desertion; we should be sure of being always complete and always ready for action.

"These observations I thought it my duty to make to shew that, since we cannot have Europeans enough for all purposes, the natives may be used to advantage. In regard to a possibility of desertion, and teaching the Country Powers I have said we were before as liable to it, or more so, than we shall be if some small addition to the pay be made; but granting they desert as the sepoys do, we have not much to apprehend. Though the Country Powers

have Infantry formed like ours, they are inferior in every respect: their irregularity of pay is the grand foundation of it; their want of sufficient instruction, and of the essential knowledge of our discipline will long keep them so; and such as their sepoy's are to ours, their Artillery will be to our Artillery, though the men should desert in the same proportion, which I do not think would happen. For these reasons, I hope the native Artillery will be found worthy of keeping up; and the mode of detaching guns, wherever they are wanted, preferred to attaching them to battalions; and I further hope that the specimen of what may be done in a little time, will be considered as an argument for continuing what has been begun, and so happily meet with your approbation."

On the receipt of the order to disband the Golundauze, Colonel Pearce again attempted, without success, to prevent this ill-judged measure from taking effect, by a respectful representation to the Government, a copy of which he forwarded with the following letter to General Sir Eyre Coote:—

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"Fort William, 24th November, 1779.

"SIR,

"I should have not presumed to renew my address to you on the subject of the Golundauze corps did not necessity oblige me to it. Rumours of a particular nature which, if they have any foundation, are better known to you than to me, make it fit that I should trouble you.

"Your orders arrived when I was at Ghyrettee. Yesterday they were published, and I was about to carry them into immediate execution, as I am in all duty bound to do, and shall ever consider it as my greatest honor to act conformably to your pleasure, by the most punctual obedience. But when I considered the reports of wars and attacks, which perhaps have no foundation, but as I cannot know that for certain, it behoved me to act as if they were real. I, therefore, as you were at so great a distance that an answer could not reach me in less than a month, took a step which will I hope meet with your approbation, the only one by which I could save myself from blame, should the reports have any ground.

"I therefore addressed to the Board a letter of which I have the honor to enclose a copy, and at the same time send it to you.

"As my only intention was to be authorised to postpone the execution till I could consult you, I submit what I said to the Board to your consideration, and humbly hope to obtain the honor of an answer, which will extricate me from my present difficulties.

"As your order does not mention any native officers I beg to know how they are to be disposed of. They are men who have served many years,

therefore I presume it is your intention to divide them also amongst the sepoy; but the total silence concerning them leaves me in doubt whether they are to be so disposed of or reduced.

"When the order is carried into execution, may I presume to submit to you the propriety of doing it by draughts at once; they will in that case I believe not hesitate which to choose; at present I know there is a difficulty: they all know that a Golundauze is, in the Country's service, the most honourable distinction. They know the Artillery have in our own higher pay, and they consider this as putting the Artillery on the same footing in our service.

"The means which I take the liberty to point out, will most effectually get rid of the present corps, without a probability of diffusing that knowledge which we wish to confine, as much as the nature of things permits, to ourselves; but disbanding them will, I presume, promote it: for as they are now all well disciplined, when they shall find themselves destitute, they will naturally make use of all their knowledge for their own necessities, and seek for bread where they can get it, on terms more to their advantage than by the choice that is given to them by your orders.

"In the meantime, that I may shew my readiness to obey your orders, I have desired the officers to advise them to go to the sepoy corps: and on Monday next, which is review day, I shall do the same thing publicly. I have desired Captain Clerk to attend; and from that day he will use his endeavours to get as many as he can. If any difficulty arises, it must proceed from the cause I have mentioned; and in a country where every man sticks so firmly to caste, which is only name, it is a very powerful one. It was by that and that only they were brought forward to what they are; for in all respects they perform the duties of Lascars, but I do know that they will not become Lascars, that the ignominy of the name amongst themselves, and the consequent shame of descending from the highest to the lowest rank and the difference of pay prevents it. It was finding that I could not get any but the men unfit for sepoy, that I recommended the changing the names, giving them arms, and increasing the pay. It will not then be a matter for wonder that they will not again become Lascars.

"I do not mention this as any objection to the intended change, far from it: it is your pleasure that it be made, and I shall endeavour to the utmost to get the best I can to use them to the most advantage, but I thought it necessary to explain why the late change was made. Many of the Golundauze will, I suppose, become sepoy; for they will see they have less to do, and the same pay; as the name is honourable also, they will have every reason to change, and in fact will be better off. Incorporating them at once will, therefore, be effectual in every respect, and for that reason I presumed to

recommend it. The orders I may receive from the Board will determine me how to act for the instant, and your further orders will be my guide in future.

I am, &c., &c.,

T. D. P.

Lieut.-Colonel Commander of Artillery."

TO THE HONOURABLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL
AND THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

"Fort William, 28th November, 1779.

"HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

"As the Commander-in-Chief is at a great distance and it is impossible for me to be honoured with his commands in less than a month, I take the liberty of addressing you on the present occasion.

"The Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to send the order of which the enclosed is a copy, which was yesterday issued and must be carried into execution immediately, unless you should be pleased to authorise the suspending it, until the Commander-in-Chief can be consulted on the occasion.

"The Artillery now consist of 370 in all, of whom only 150 are at the Presidency. Two ships have arrived and not brought a single recruit; consequently the possibility of completing the Artillery is not to be expected, and cannot happen till next year. If we consider that his Majesty's armies are now recruited by pressing, it is not to be even hoped that we shall gain many next season. Were any sudden attacks to be made on us, I can assure you the Europeans we have are very much too few for the duties of the defence of this place: yet, would it be necessary to send out detachments, and, consequently, to reduce the present number!

"That most of the Golundauze are now good Artillery soldiers, I affirm from my own certain knowledge; and as the name is in Hindoostan the highest amongst the soldiers, none of them I believe would enter as Lascars, even if the pay were equal; but the difference is so considerably against the Lascars, that that alone would be sufficient to determine the Golundauze to quit us. Therefore, though the last new regulations have allowed us Lascars, the men we have enlisted will go away, and those we are to entertain will be raw and ignorant and must be instructed; consequently, for a time, we shall be almost destitute of Artillery.

"I submit it therefore to your consideration, whether it may not be proper to keep whatever we have, till you can consult the Commander-in-Chief on the subject. My duty to myself makes this address necessary, lest if any ill consequence should follow the immediate execution of this order,

it should be supposed I had neglected my duty to the service by being silent on the occasion.

"I therefore beg to be honored with your commands.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"T. D. P.,

Lieut.-Col. Commandant of Artillery."

Colonel Pearse's endeavours, however, were looked upon by Sir Eyre Coote as arising from a spirit of insubordination, which never had a place in Colonel Pearse's breast; and the following letter from Sir Eyre Coote at once silenced all remonstrances;—

TO LIEUT.-COL. PEARSE, COMMANDANT OF ARTILLERY.

Chunar, December 5th, 1779.

"SIR,

I am not more surprised than hurt to find you endeavouring to sap to its foundation that subordination and obedience which every officer ought to feel as so essentially necessary to his profession. I can say no less of your letter to me of the 24th ultimo, enclosing a copy of one addressed by you to the Board.

"The orders issued by me, relative to the reduction of the Golundauze corps, were clear and explicit, and required from you an exact and immediate compliance, instead of delay and remonstrance; and they were authorised by that very Board which you have applied to, to lay them aside.

"Your urging any plea as an excuse for hesitating to obey them, is both unmilitary and unprecedented. You are not called upon for your opinion, nor are you answerable for any consequence; obedience was the only thing required, and I now demand it from you in the strictest sense of the word.

"I am, &c., &c.,

"(Sd.) EYRE COOTE."

The circumstances of Colonel Pearse sending an address to the Board, on the subject of an order sent by the Commander-in-Chief, requires some explanation here in justice to Colonel Pearse's character.

During the command of General Stibbert, several important military transactions occurred; and General Stibbert being occasionally in the field and at some distance from the Presidency, Colonel Pearse found it necessary to obtain permission from him, as Commander-in-Chief, to address the Board or Government direct, on urgent occasions, which required immediate attention. Acting in the spirit of this permission, and considering the measure of disbanding the Golundauze as fraught with danger, Colonel Pearse

conceived he was acting in the line of his duty by making a most respectful representation of the circumstances to the Governor.

The following explanatory letter from Colonel Pearse was written in reply to the Commander-in-Chief:—

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR EYRE COOTE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

"SIR,

"I was yesterday honored with your letter dated Chunar, 5th December, by which I but too plainly perceive that I have offended you, and that my offence is deemed of so heinous a nature as to be unmilitary and unprecedented; and that you entertain an opinion of me, that I endeavour to sap to its foundation that subordination and obedience which every officer ought to feel as so essentially necessary to his profession.

"This letter has filled me with most uneasy apprehensions; for conscious as I am that in what I did I meant to act for the best, and not having had the faintest idea of the possibility of my offending the Commander-in-Chief, whose approbation I above all things wished to obtain, which I can safely say the high sense I have of his authority ever made me most desirous to shew, I cannot but be deeply affected at finding that I have fallen under his displeasure.

"With respect to the step which I thought it necessary to take, give me leave to assure you, that I should have judged it highly improper in any case but that of necessity; and that I had at least the appearance of necessity I hope you will be pleased to admit, after you shall have read the following statement.

"Reports prevailed in the settlement that a body of Mahrattas were about to invade the Provinces, and were then on the borders of Burdwan; these were so confidently spoken of that I actually and most firmly believed them. Whether it was true or false, was a question I could not presume to ask from those who alone possessed the information. I knew however, that the services of the corps I command, would be much wanted, and indispensably necessary; and that the whole of the Europeans, sick and well, was 150, which, as I represented, would be insufficient without assistance; the assistance which we had at hand, the executing of your orders would have deprived us of. And I apprehended that time would be wanted to raise the Lascars, and that, if the Mahrattas should really be coming forward, it would be very difficult to raise them at all: the case became so very intricate that I knew not how to act. I thought it not improbable but that you might be unacquainted with it; for the news might have come by a different route; that you could not have known of the arrival of the two ships without bringing us a man, when your orders were dated, was, I thought, certain; so that I concluded it would have met with your

approbation that I should take measures to delay the execution of your orders till those circumstances could be made known to you. But, Sir, an officer in this service has not been trusted with that kind of discretionary power which in some cases becomes necessary; and therefore I did not dare delay the execution of your orders by my own authority. I could not receive my orders from yourself; for I only wanted time to obtain them. The fact of the ships I knew; but, as I before said, I could not presume to ask concerning the reports; therefore it appears to me that it was my duty to you and to the service, to state facts concerning the state of my corps to the Council, who, being informed of them, could at once determine whether the orders might with safety be instantly carried into execution, or whether it would be more proper to defer it until you could be consulted. This, Sir, was the reasoning which passed in my mind on the subject, and in consequence I wrote that letter which now unhappily has drawn down your displeasure upon me. I was apprehensive of it at the time, and to prevent it, if possible, I sent a copy to yourself with a letter on the subject; and I flattered myself that by so doing I should remove all cause of complaint against me on the article of want of respect or obedience: nay, I ever hoped for your approbation of my conduct, and am persuaded that if the reports had turned out true, you would have commended me. Happily for the Company, they proved erroneous: but alas! I find myself in a very bad predicament, and have offended that Officer whose favourable opinion I most coveted, and emulously strove to obtain. With respect to my letter on this subject to yourself I hope no unguarded expression has crept in to give offence. If any such there be, permit me to assure you that I did not intend to write a word in my letter, which should carry a meaning contrary to that profound respect which is due to yourself and the high office you hold in this Army; and I pray you, that, if a harsh or improper expression is to be met with, you will favor me so far as to explain its meaning by this assurance.

* Since, Sir, I have most unhappily fallen under your displeasure by the step I took, let me beg you will be pleased to consider it as founded on error in judgment and not in want of obedience; permit me to assure you that in the course of 22 years' service I have ever studied not only thoroughly in what subordination and obedience consist, but how best to practise them. A case of a most intricate nature having occurred, I, to my shame and confusion, find I have acted in a manner which my present Commander-in-Chief deems unmilitary in the highest degree. To him I now address myself to intreat him to overlook the error in my conduct, and to entertain a more favourable opinion of me than that which is expressed in the letter I was honored with.

"I am, &c. &c."

In the meantime the final resolutions of Government appeared in the following Minute of Council which was issued :—

EXTRACTS OF MINUTES OF COUNCIL

23rd November, 1779.

"Ordered that the Native officers of the Golundaux Corps at the presidency be paid up to the end of this month, and immediately discharged from the service; that the Commander of the Artillery be directed to repeat the offers already given to the men, and those who still decline to accept of them be immediately disbanded."

TO GENERAL DESAGULIERS.

6th May, 1779.

"DEAR GENERAL,

"You must have heard a good deal at home about our squabbles in the East. For these last four years we have been torn by parties, more violently than any part of His Majesty's subjects. The clashing of our interests, the difference of our views, and the rancour of our chiefs had set us so much against each other that I thought it impossible we could ever be brought to unanimity; however, our Court has effected it. We are not above a thousand in Bengal; yet you will see near 600 names signed to a petition to Parliament for redress of grievances. The distance of our various settlements in Bengal has prevented many names being added; the Supreme Council, and the dependants on the Court, and some few, who find their interest in it, are the only persons who have not signed, or will not do it.

"The people here who had been for ages ruled by despotism, were all at once told that they were free, and that they could bring an action in a Court of Law against any European from whom they thought they had received even a supposed grievance. An individual who was brought before the Bench on the complaint of a native, demanded a jury. The bench refused to plead his case; he was forced to plead for himself. The Judges declared that we had no right to juries here; the whole settlement took the alarm, and in an instant re-united and drew up a petition to the Judges, presenting it with every mark of respect that could be desired.

"The petition was also drawn up for Parliament, setting forth in a plain manner the grievances; the principal of which was, that trial by jury was not allowed, and that individuals were daily subjected to suits brought against them for actions committed many years before, which were not contrary to the native, but to the British *ex post facto* laws. Natives are made equally subject to the Bench; and from what I can learn from discoursing with individuals amongst them, they look upon the circumstances with dread, and only submit to them for fear of our power."

PART II.

We have proceeded with the memoir of this distinguished officer so far as the year 1779. Our readers will, however, we trust, excuse our retrograding for a few pages to 1778.

It is pretty generally known that the late Sir John Horsford, K.C.B., Commandant of the Bengal Artillery, though of a good family and superior education, evaded entering into the profession in which his family were desirous of engaging him (which we believe was the Church) by enlisting in the Honorable Company's Service. He came to Bengal as a private in the Artillery, having assumed the name of Rover; and in 1778 he was a sergeant in Captain Thelwall's, or the 1st Company of Artillery. In consequence, however, of the inquiries of his deserted family, Horsford was identified and promoted to a Cadetship in the corps. The following public letter appears amongst Colonel Pearse's papers:—

TO CAPTAIN THELWALL.

Fort William, 9th March, 1778.

SIR,

I am directed by Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse to acquaint you, that Sergeant Rover of your Company, is in this day's orders appointed a Cadet of Artillery under the name of John Horsford; he desires that he may proceed to the Presidency immediately in order to join his corps.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

C. R. DEARE,

Adj't., Corps of Artillery.

The following letters are interestingly indicative of the acute and observing mind of Colonel Pearse:—

TO ADMIRAL MANN.

Fort William, 3rd April, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have seen it 107 in the shade in Calcutta, where we never have hot winds, and I have been told it is 131° in the tents, and even more sometimes where the hot winds are violent; but as the wind is always scorching, it of course is dry and doth not oppress. I have been ready to die in 83° in a moist air, and never am in better health or spirits than in the hottest dry weather in which season my returns shew me my men are always most healthy. I now have not one in 20 sick; from August to latter end of December they sicken, from that time till the rains begin, they grow more and more healthy; but if they drink hard, they die in a few hours of violent putrid fevers. I inclose a duplicate of my last letter, because it is of important business; I hope you will receive your wine safe by the *Portland*. May you enjoy happiness! and now adieu for this season.

I am, My dear Friend,

Your affectionate kinsman,

T. D. PEARSE.

[A letter of a technical nature is omitted here.]

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

* We lately made an attempt to establish Ragoba, the ejected peshwa of Poona, in the Government of the Mahratta dominions, and to this end in March 1778, a body of forces, under Col. Leslie, marched from Calpee towards Poonah, the distance of about 1,800 miles. Leslie lost several months in settling some disputes with which he had no business to interfere, in Bundelcund, a country in his route, and there he died: Lt.-Col. Goddard succeeded to the command of the detachment. All the difficulties vanished, the detachment marched with great dispatch, crossed the Nerbuddah, and were within a few days' march of Poonah. The Bombay forces were also to attack on their side, to second Goddard, and they were so to manage matters as to arrive with him; but Goddard had the only power as ambassador. The Bombay Council then sent their detachment, a Captain* in three days took possession of the passes, their army marched the same distance in six weeks: but the Captain moved unfettered, and the army had a set of people called Field Deputies.† As news reached them that Goddard was approaching, the Bombay people held it to be for their credit to arrive first, and they determined to quit the passes and descend into the plains. They had no sooner done this than they were attacked; still they pushed on, and in three days advanced about 12 miles, their army in the highest spirits. The Field Deputies, however, chose to retreat; the army got under arms, expecting to storm the Mahratta camp and make their fortune. All were in transports, when in an instant their ambitious views were defeated by an order to retreat. Away they went. The Mahrattas finding the good people were walking the wrong way and rightly imagining that making a noise in the rear would make them hasten, therefore attacked it. He who commanded the rear repulsed them, and made good his retreat to the main body.‡ The front had marched so fast as to leave him 2 miles behind, with a gully between; they stopped, sent back a reinforcement, and all was well. Thus ended the first fight. The next day they began to treat; as they agreed to terms, the Mahrattas rose in demands, so they fought again and again, and then they made their treaty, and it was to give up Ragoba, which was complied with; to eat their dinner, which the Mahrattas agreed to send them; to deliver up Salsette, Broach, and anything else the Mahrattas pleased: and to send orders to Goddard to march back again, and at any rate to forbid his taking Poonah and doing his business without their assistance, which the Mahrattas were very seriously afraid he would do. The Deputies politely told the Mahrattas that they had

* This was Captain Hurley, afterwards a Major-General.

† These Field Deputies were Mr. Carnac and Mr. Moolyn, of the Bombay Civil Service, and
 ‡ Colonel Egerton acting in a civil capacity.

no power over General Goddard, but that he would do as he pleased, he was ordered by their superiors, but they would interest themselves with him and so they wrote him a letter and the Mahrattas another. When Goddard found that one army was demolished, and had bargained that the man he was going to establish was delivered up, and that it would be to no purpose to go to Poonah, and that he might save Bombay by marching to Surat, he determined to do so; and he has effected it. This affair, though really a very serious one, has been so horridly mangled by the management of the Bombay Deputies (whom the Mahrattas call the English coolies), that though I really wanted to give you an account of it in a more serious style, I really could not manage it. Goddard has done wonders; he has made his way good quite across India, has been twice attacked by the whole force of the Mahrattas, and made them repent it; and has at last reached Surat. The Bombay detachment, much larger than Goddard's, within three days of Poonah, were defeated by the Chiefs at the very instant they thought they were going to drive all before them; and what happened plainly shewed they might have done it: for if part of their force could in a retreat repulse the Mahrattas, their whole force attacking would have destroyed them, and one victory would have made us masters of all the western side of India; and if Goddard had been there without Field Deputies, he would have done it. Sir Eyre Coote has arrived, and has reviewed my corps, and has expressed his delight and satisfaction."

On the 25th September 1779, the awful intelligence reached Bengal of the total annihilation of a large detachment of the Madras Army, under Colonel Baillie, by Hyder Ali: Sir Hector Munro at the head of the Madras Army having failed, through imperfect intelligence, to support the detachment. To render this news more appalling, it was reported that Hyder had followed the retreating army of Sir Hector Munro to the very suburbs of Madras and the Madras Council, in applying for assistance in money and troops from Bengal, declared their total want of the former, and that the weakness of their force rendered them unable even to check the progress of the barbarous Invader: the Madras army amounting to about 6,500, in which number were included the whole European force of 1,200 men.

According to Mr. Mill (in his admirable history of India) the formidable army of Hyder was not less than 100,000 strong, of which 20,000 Infantry were formed into regular battalions under European officers, and 30,000 Cavalry which had been disciplined by French officers; that he had 100 pieces of cannon, partly manœuvred by Europeans and natives who had been trained by the English for the Nabob of the Carnatic; that Mons. Lally, who had left the service of the Subahdar of the Deccan for that of Hyder, was present with his corps of Europeans to the amount of 400 men, and that

he had the principal share in planning the operations of the war. Here was a striking lesson to every State of the necessity of strict discipline in an army and the regular payment of the troops composing it.

Hyder's main object was the total extirpation of the English from the Carnatic, and indeed from India, and had he pushed on with his overwhelming force and taken Madras, which in all probability must have fallen, the British interests in the Carnatic would have yielded to the French; the Mahrattas never would have concluded peace with the English, and that portion, if not the whole of India, would have been lost to Britain. To gratify his troops, however (and probably to pay them), Hyder was obliged to let them ravage and plunder the country round Madras, and they devoted so much time to this barbarous mode of carrying on war, that reinforcements from Bengal arrived and warded off the expected catastrophe.

Never was there a more alarming crisis in the affairs of British India. Fortunately Mr. Hastings, being supported by Mr. Barwell in Council, had recovered the reins of Government, and the vigorous measures which the Supreme Government pursued, notwithstanding the obstinate opposition of Mr. Francis, saved India. That Mr. Hastings is entitled to the significant and honorable appellation of the Saviour of India, is now generally allowed; and in speaking of Mr. Hastings, the name and services of his constant supporter and coadjutor in Council, Mr. Barwell, must not be forgotten.

Fifteen lacs of rupees and a formidable body of Infantry and Artillery were instantly got in readiness to proceed to Madras. Sir Eyre Coote was directed to proceed by sea with a detachment of Europeans and Colonel Pearse (whose character was justly valued) was selected to command the army which was to proceed by land. The Supreme Government, confiding in the high character of Sir Eyre Coote, appointed him to carry a decree suspending the Madras Governor. Mr. Hastings, in adopting these measures, looked forward with confidence to the complete restoration of the British honors and interests in that quarter of India and his expectations were not disappointed.

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

" 25th March, 1780.

" Before this can reach you, you will have heard of the disaster that has happened to our troops at Madras; under Sir Hector Munro. Munro had a certain victory in his hands, if he only would have moved to seize it; but standing still it was too late, half his army was destroyed and the rest he marched off with in such hurry and confusion, that it might be called running away; and he left his cannon, his tents, his magazines, and all the followers of his army. As soon as it was known, our Government took the most

vigorous measures ; within a month from the receipt of the news, Sir Eyre Coote sailed from hence with 500 Europeans, *vis.*, 300 Infantry and 200 Artillery. I offered my services to go, either to command the detachment, or the Artillery only, or my own company of volunteers. At first Sir Eyre Coote refused to let me go ; but two days after he told me I should follow with the command of 6 light Battalions of sepoys and a proportionable train. The detachment is accordingly forming and consists of 6 Battalions of sepoys, one Company of Artillery, and 16 pieces of ordnance.

"The Mahrattas are divided ; peace is about to be made with them, so that, as the Nizam refuses to join against us, and Mezuph Khawn is quiet and inclined to peace, Hyder Ali's fall may be looked upon as certain, unless the French should send a force to join him, and we should be neglected ; in which case they may form an establishment to lay the foundation of future trouble ; but if they do not join, or we are supported, all India must be ours in 20 years more ; for when Hyder is destroyed, there will not be a force that can cope with us, though all the rest should join together.

"I must just add that in August last, Mr. Hastings and Francis fought a duel ; I was second to Mr. Hastings and Colonel Watson to Francis. I consulted your letter on Townsend's for etiquette, and proceeded accordingly, but Watson proposed 14 paces, and it was lucky for his principal for Mr. Hastings hit him, and had he been two paces nearer he would never have told who hurt him.

"Francis is to go away in these ships, and then we may go on with the conquest of India, which Hastings will assuredly accomplish, if left to act.

"Mayaffre, who is now the fourth Captain in the Corps, is just returned from Gwalior, a very strong fortress in the Rajaship of Gohud ; it was in the possession of the Mahrattas, and was taken by surprise by Popham under whom Mayaffre served."

Col. Pearse gives the following account of the duel fought between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis in a letter :—

TO LAWRENCE SULLIVAN, ESQ.

"Fort William, 4th October, 1780.

"SIR,—On the present occasion I shall less apologize for troubling you than I should on any other, because it seems to me necessary that you should be informed of the particulars of a transaction that has passed here, and which will make some noise at home. I mean a duel between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, on which occasion I was one of the seconds, and therefore am fully acquainted with the particulars which I shall relate as concisely as the nature of the subject will allow me.

"Late in the evening of the 15th August, I received a note from Mr. Hastings, desiring me to be with him next morning at breakfast ; in

consequence of which I waited upon him. He introduced the subject of business by desiring me to give him my word of honor not to mention it till he should give me permission. Of course I gave it, and he then informed me that in consequence of a minute he had given in, Mr. Francis had challenged him on the preceding day : that they had then agreed to meet on Thursday morning about half-past five near Belvedere, and he asked me to be his second.

"The next morning, Thursday the 17th August, I waited on Mr. Hastings in my chariot to carry him to the place of appointment. When we arrived there we found Mr. Francis and Col. Watson walking together, and therefore soon after we alighted, I looked at my watch and mentioned aloud that it was half-past five, and Mr. Francis looked at his and said it was near six ; this induced me to tell him that my watch was set by my astronomical clock to solar time.

"The place they were at was very improper for the business ; it was the road leading to Alipore, at the crossing of it through a double row of trees that formerly had been a walk of Belvedere garden, on the western side of the house. Whilst Col. Watson went by desire of Mr. Francis to fetch his pistols, that Gentleman proposed to go aside from the road into the walk ; but Mr. Hastings disapproved of the place because it was full of weeds and dark : the road itself was next mentioned, but was thought by everybody too public, as it was near riding time and people might want to pass that way ; it was therefore agreed to walk towards Mr. Barwell's house on an old road that separated his ground from Belvedere, and before we had gone far, a retired dry spot was chosen as a proper place.

"As soon as this was settled I proceeded to load Mr. Hastings' pistols ; those of Mr. Francis were already loaded : when I had delivered one to Mr. Hastings, and Col. Watson had done the same to Mr. Francis, finding the gentlemen were both acquainted with the modes usually observed on those occasions, I took the liberty to tell them that if they would fix their distance it was the business of the seconds to measure it. Lieut.-Col. Watson immediately mentioned that Fox and Adam had taken fourteen paces, and he recommended that distance. Mr. Hastings observed it was a great distance for pistols ; but as no actual objection was made to it Watson measured and I counted. When the Gentlemen had got to their ground, Mr. Hastings, asked Mr. Francis if he stood before the line or behind it, and being told behind the mark, he said he would do the same, and immediately took his stand. I then told them it was a rule that neither of them were to quit their ground until they had discharged their pistols, and Col. Watson proposed that both should fire together without taking any advantage. Mr. Hastings asked, if he meant they ought to fire by word of

command, and was told he only meant they should fire together as nearly as could be. These preliminaries were all agreed to, and both parties presented; but Mr. Francis raised his hand and again came down to his present; he did so a second time; when he came to his present, which the third time of doing so, he drew his trigger; but his powder being damp, the pistol did not fire. Mr. Hastings came down from his present to give Mr. Francis time to rectify his priming, and this was done out of a cartridge with which I supplied him upon finding they had no spare powder.

"Again the Gentlemen took their stands, both presented together, and Mr. Francis fired, Mr. Hastings did the same at the distance of time equal to the counting of one, two, three distinctly, but not greater. His shot took place; Mr. Francis staggered, and in attempting to sit down he fell, and said he was a dead man. Mr. Hastings hearing this cried out, 'Good God! I hope not,' and immediately went up to him, as did Col. Watson; but I ran to call the servants, and to order a sheet to be brought to bind up the wound; I was absent about 2 minutes; on my return I found Mr. Hastings standing by Mr. Francis, but Col. Watson was gone to fetch a cot or palanquin from Belvedere to carry him to town.

"When the sheet was brought, Mr. Hastings and myself bound it round his body; and we had the satisfaction to find it was not in a vital part, and Mr. Francis agreed with me in opinion as soon as it was mentioned. I offered to attend him to town in my carriage and Mr. Hastings urged him to go as my carriage was remarkably easy. Mr. Francis agreed to go, and, therefore, when the cot came we proceeded towards the chariot, but were stopped by a deep broad ditch over which we could not carry the cot; for this reason Mr. Francis was conveyed to Belvedere, attended by Col. Watson, and we went to town to send assistance to meet him; but he had been prevailed on to accept a room at Belvedere and there the surgeons, Dr. Campbell the principal, and Dr. Francis the Governor's own surgeon, found him. When Dr. Francis returned he informed the Governor that the wound was not mortal, that the ball had struck just behind the bend of the right ribs and passed between the flesh and bone to the opposite side, from whence it had been extracted.

"Whilst Mr. Francis was lying on the ground, he told Mr. Hastings, in consequence of something which he said, that he best knew how it affected his affairs, and that he had better take care of himself; to which Mr. Hastings answered, that he hoped and believed the wound was not mortal, but that if any unfortunate accident should happen, it was his intention immediately to surrender himself to the Sheriff.

"Concerning the subject of the quarrel not a word passed. Had the seconds been ignorant of the cause of the duel before they went into the

field, they must have remained so. No other conversation passed between the principals or the seconds besides what I have related, unless the usual compliments of good morrow at meeting, or Mr. Francis' admiring the beauty of Mr. Hastings' pistols when I took them out, deserve to be noticed. When the pistols were delivered by the seconds, Mr. Francis said he was quite unacquainted with these matters and had never fired a pistol in his life, and Mr. Hastings told him he had no advantage in that respect as he could not recollect that he had ever fired a pistol above once or twice; that it was that induced me to say what I have before mentioned the rules to be observed.

"Though what I have written may appear rather prolix, yet I had rather bear the imputation of dwelling too long upon the less important parts of the narrative than leave the world-room to put in a word that did not pass. If, therefore, any reports different from what I have related should circulate and you should think them worth contradiction, I hope you will not scruple to use this letter for that purpose.

"Both parties behaved as became Gentlemen of their high rank and station. Mr. Hastings seemed to be in a state of such perfect tranquillity that a spectator would not have supposed that he was about an action out of the common course of things; and Mr. Francis' deportment was such as did honor to his firmness and resolution.

"As I could not take the liberty of writing so fully on this subject, without acquainting Mr. Hastings of my intention so to do, he knows of my letter; but the letter itself he has not seen, nor any copy of it.

"Wishing you every health and prosperity,

"I remain,

"&c. &c., &c."

(To be continued.)



A Forgotten Calcutta Actress:

MADAME MARIA DHERMAINVILLE

—Heedless where thou'rt straying, sad and pale,
Like grief-struck maiden who has heard revealed
To all the world that which she wished concealed,
Her trusting love's—and hapless frailty's—tale."

—DEROIO. *Sonnet to the Moon.*



MADAME Dhermainville (or Mrs. Maria Madeline Taylor to call her by her real name) was a lady who caused no little stir in her own brief day, but who for many a long day since has been utterly forgotten. Her life-story would form a tear-stained volume, but although a child of misfortune she was one of Beauty's daughters; and, coming as she did from a theatrical family, was by face, figure, stature, and voice well fitted for the profession she adopted. Although not educated up to the height of lofty tragedy, Maria Taylor became the leading actress at Sydney and the idol of Australian playgoers when she was barely twenty, and continued to be so for six years in the 'thirties of the last century. Taylor, her husband, was described as a worthless fellow who never worked and indeed did little else than induce his young wife to take to stimulants, the constant use of which began to affect her voice. Before long the couple parted and she threw in her lot with a Captain Pierre Largetot (or Largeteau). He commanded a whaler which without the knowledge of her owners he sold, using the proceeds to defray the fare of himself and the lady to Calcutta. Having assumed the name and style of "Baron" Henri Dhermainville he engaged a house (or flat) in Park Street. Just about this time the Sans Souci Theatre* had been opened (8th March 1841), and here Madame Dhermainville, relying on her Australasian celebrity, hoped to secure a permanent engagement. She was, however, unsuccessful, owing it was said, by her friends, to professional jealousy on the part of Mrs. Esther Leach, and, by her enemies, to her having appeared at a rehearsal not quite sober. She next announced a performance of "The Taming of the Shrew," with herself as Katherine, to take place at the Town Hall on 25th March 1841. This had, however, to be postponed owing to Dhermainville's death from cholera the night previous. In advertising the

* For an account of this old theatre in Park Street the reader is referred to the article entitled

"The Sans Souci and its Star" which appeared in *Bengal Past and Present* of July 1907.

performance for the 15th April instead, she pleaded that in appearing so soon after her affliction she had been compelled to sacrifice private feelings to the stern necessity of maintaining herself by her profession.

The following well-written and touching address, spoken by Madame Dhermainville, was said to have been composed by Mr. G. Nash, one of the amateur performers who supported her on this occasion:—

THE PROLOGUE.

"Friends,—for so must I welcome you and claim
The deeds that justify the sacred name—
Behold a stranger, and recall the time
When each one felt so in this distant clime,
And every heart will justify my plea,
A voice in every bosom plead for me!
Ye, who have known but fortune's tenderness,
Should feel for those who suffer ne'ertheless,
And one Adversity has stricken low
Is she, who humbly pleadeth to you now.
Oh I had I power to utter all I feel,
Then should ye know the force of this appeal,
And own, as sympathy relaxed each brow,
'The WOMAN, NOT the ACTRESS, speaketh now.'
Alas I too soon must I resume the mask—
Necessity commands me to the task—
And bid my features mimic feelings show,
Whilst dark and heavy lies my heart below:
Pause to remember this, ere ye upbraid,
And let my faults, to-night, be lightly weighed,

Lords of the mind, whose sceptre is the Pen,
To you I turn, and trembling meet your ken—
Forbearance, critics! 'tis more great to aid
Exertions weak as mine, than to upbraid;
And grant the little band, whom kindness drew
To back my efforts, your protection too.
But wherefore fear I?—I no more will plead—
Sustained by your forbearance I succeed;
Yes, the conviction springs, like lightning, through
My quickened heart, and I can smile anew!
Oh I could you know the change now passing here!
The Seraph, Hope, o'ercomes the Demon, Fear.

The pulse of Gladness beats for Sorrow's throne,
 And Joy regains the throne usurped by Woe ;
 And I can smile : my heart rejoicing bounds,
 Escapes its fetters, and forgets its wounds !
 Yes, gratitude shall make my weakness might,
 And wake each nerve to energy to-night."

Madame Dhermainville made her next appearance in a musical farce called "Mischief-Making" which was performed at the Sans Souci on 29th April. On that very night occurred a tragedy which greatly shocked Calcutta residents. Captain George Hamilton Cox of the East India Company's Invalid Establishment and Actuary of the Calcutta Fire Insurance Company, on returning from the Theatre to his rooms in the Bengal Club (then in Tank Square, E.), committed suicide by blowing his brains out with a revolver. He was very popular both at Calcutta and Simla (where he was one of the early European settlers), and the circumstances of the case were particularly distressing. He had unfortunately become over-friendly out here with Madame Dhermainville and on receiving a letter by mail intimating that his wife and children were on their way out from home, he committed the rash act. The poor man left behind him several letters. One was addressed to the Coroner and Jurors at the inquest to be held on his body, desiring, by rehearsing the circumstances of his death, to spare them unnecessary trouble in collecting evidence. In this he solicited "the cheapest and meanest funeral—no *pucka* grave, parson's fees, etc." Another letter was addressed to his medical attendant, Dr. Goodeve, enclosing his fee and imploring him to defend the writer's memory from a verdict of "temporary insanity" which he feared might act as a slur upon his children. A third note was for Mr. Westerman of his office, assuring him that the books and cash were all quite correct. A fourth was directed to his friend, Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, editor of the *Englishman* who had that very evening met him at the Theatre, apparently in the best of spirits ; but neither its contents nor those of another which had been written to his actress-friend, were made public at the inquest. Captain Cox's bearer deposed that a couple of minutes before the report of firearms, he had heard his master singing and beating time in his room as he used habitually to do. The Jury returned the brief verdict—*felix de se*. Captain Cox, according to the *Bengal Hurkaru*, also left behind him a long rambling Essay on Suicide which he desired might be printed (though not "published") for his son.

A fortnight later and Madame Dhermainville also had left the stage of life ! At first it was supposed she had died under suspicious circumstances, but Dr. Duncan Stewart, the Presidency Surgeon, who sat up with her

professionally through the night, certified the cause of death to have been cholera. She passed away at No. 97, Taltolla, where she had removed, and her funeral service was conducted by the Rev. R. B. Boswell, Chaplain of old St. James's. One of the newspapers, a morning or two after, referred to her as "the wretched Mrs. Dhermainville," while another, in rehearsing the principal events of her life, declared that her career might well serve as a warning to others. But after all these years one need no further seek to draw her frailties from their dread abode. In the old portion of Circular Road Cemetery the *soi-disant* Baron and the Captain of Invalids sleep in nameless graves, and hard by rises a modest headstone bearing the following simple inscription :—

" Sacred to the Memory
of
MARIA MADELINE TAYLOR,
who died 13th May, 1841,
aged 27 years."

In conclusion, it may be added that the facts recorded above have been amplified from an anecdotal article, entitled " The Pathos of Destiny " (by the present writer), which appeared not long ago in the *Englishman*.

ELLIOT WALTER MADGE.



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The Jewel Bond in Nuncomar's Case.



By the courtesy of the Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court we are enabled to publish the accompanying facsimile of the bond, for the forgery of which and for the publication of which, knowing it to be forged, Nuncomar (Nanda Kumar) was hung. The circumstances leading to Nuncomar's prosecution and execution have been the subject of controversies on which we need not touch, and we need only remind our readers that they terminated a series of mutual accusations between Hastings and Nuncomar which formed a very important event in Hastings' career.

The bond came to light as follows:—Bollakey Doss was a Hindu banker of Calcutta. He made a will dated the 12th July 1769 and died in the same month, and in September probate of the will was granted to one of his executors. A large part of his fortune consisted of bonds of the East India Company. These, or some of them, were made over to Nuncomar, to whose care Bollakey Doss had commended his wife and daughter and in exchange for them he gave to Pudmokun Doss, to whom Bollakey Doss had left a quarter of his property and the management of his business, certain securities—one of them being this bond, cancelled by being torn at the top, as is shown in the illustration, though the original tear has been extended in the course of time.

The translation of the bond is as follows:—

"I who am Bollakey Doss.

"As a pearl necklace, a twisted pulghar, a twisted serpache and four rings,—two of which were rubies and two of diamonds, were deposited by Rogonaut Roy Geoo, on account of Maharajah Nandkumar, Bahadur, in the month of Assar in the Bengal year 1165 (1758), with me, in my house at Murshidabad, that the same might be sold; at the time of the defeat of the army of the Nabob Mir Mohammed Qasim Khan, the money and effects of the house, together with the aforesaid jewels were plundered and carried away. In the year 1172 Bengal style (1765) when I arrived at Calcutta, the aforesaid Maharajah demanded the before mentioned deposit of jewels; I could not produce the deposit when demanded, and on account of the bad state of my affairs, was unable to pay the value thereof; I therefore promise and give it in writing, that when I shall receive back the sum of two lakhs of rupees, and

a little above, which is in the Company's cash at Dacca, according to the method of reckoning of the Company, I have agreed and settled, that the sum of 48,031 sicca rupees is the principal of the amount of the said deposit of jewels, which is justly due by me, and over and above that, a premium of four annas upon every rupee. Upon the payment of the aforesaid sum from the Company's cash, I will pay that sum, without excuse and evasion, to the aforesaid Maharajah. I have, for the above reasons, given these reasons in the form of a bond under my signature, that when it is necessary it may be carried into execution. Written on the seventh day of the month of Bhadon, in the Bengal year 1172."

So far the body of the instrument. Then on the right come No. 1 the exhibit number put on at the trial followed by the initials, it must be supposed, of the officers of the Court in whose custody it was. Below that a square seal inscribed Mahtab Roy under it in writing "Witness is made." Then an oval seal inscribed Bollakey Doss under it the writing "Writer of this." Then a square seal inscribed Muhammed Kamaluddin almost undecipherable in the facsimile, and little better in the original. Under this comes the writing "Sitlapat Wakil of Seath Bollakey Doss." *

The case for the prosecution was that matters taken by Muhammed Kamaluddin and Sitlapat were forgeries. This was proved directly by Kamaluddin (Commaul O Dein Ali Khan), who said he was the same man as Muhammed Kamaluddin, and denied having witnessed the deed. But he said he had once given his seal to Nuncomar to sign a petition for him, and that it was not returned. He said that a flaw existed in the seal, which we will leave it to our readers to identify, and that an earlier impression of the seal, which he produced, showed the same flaw. He also said that Nuncomar had admitted the forgery of his name to him.

Sitlapat was said to have been the Wakil and Munshi of Bollakey Doss, and to have died before him. The authenticity of his signature depended on his handwriting.

The rest of the case turned on evidence as to Bollakey Doss's affairs and went to show that he never executed the bond. We need not notice it here as it is not connected with the bond itself. We may, however, add that Sir James Stephen points out that the contents of the bond are suspicious as they

* Sir J. Stephen quoting Vol. XX of the State Trials concludes the translation:—

"It is witnessed.

Mahtab Roy.

Sellabut Roy (the Wakil of Seath Bollakey Doss).

Abdehoo Commaul Mahomed.

Alabd Bollakey Doss.

Written on the seventh day of the month of Bhadoor in the Bengal year 1172."

stand. The bond is dated 1172 (1765) and sets out a deposit of jewels seven years previously. No receipt was produced by Nuncomar, and we must therefore conclude that he left the jewels with Bollakey Doss for seven years without any receipt. The recital, that is the story of the jewels being plundered at Murshidabad seems to give Nuncomar a very weak claim against Bollakey Doss, which the latter seems to have admitted without question. This seems unlikely, but if it were so the recitals were not necessary.

For the defence, evidence was given that Kamaluddin, the witness to the deed, was a different man from the witness at the trial. Witnesses were called who spoke to the execution of the deed and its signature by the persons by whom it is signed. There was also evidence of a statement of account by Bollakey Doss in which his liability to Nuncomar for Rs. 48,021 with interest at 25 per cent. was admitted.



The Preservation of Murshidabad.



THE following petition to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor will be read with the greatest interest and concern by all who care for the history of British India. Members of this Society have had an opportunity of seeing for themselves the decayed and forlorn condition of the city and any support they can give to this or other proposal of a like kind will be for them a matter of obligation. The Society would doubtless urge that special care should be taken to preserve what remains of the once great Katra Musjid of Murshid Kuli Khan and that the old Palace at Jaffarganj should be restored before it becomes too late.

To

THE HON'BLE SIR ANDREW HENDERSON LEITH FRASER, M.A., LL.D.,
K.C.S.I., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

The Humble Memorial of the Inhabitants of the City of Murshidabad.

MOST RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH :—

1. That Your Honor's humble memorialists are the citizens of Murshidabad, which once enjoyed opulence and prosperity as the ancient capital of Bengal, and which can legitimately claim to be the birthplace of British Rule in India. In this connection your humble memorialists desire to bring to Your Honor's kind notice this important historical fact that Lord Clive, when entering Murshidabad after the battle of Plassey, was pleased to observe that "the City of Murshidabad was as extensive, populous and rich as the City of London; with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any of the last city." Macaulay remarks that "the ancient capital of Bengal was larger than London and rivalled the principal cities of Europe in commerce and trade." Therefore from a historical standpoint this city deserves special consideration not only so far as regards the preservation of its places and objects of interest but also in the furtherance of its general prosperity.

2. That your memorialists crave Your Honor's permission to represent that the city is gradually becoming depopulated on account of the existence of thick jungle and objectionable pits, covering large areas and committing a yearly havoc of its population to such an extent that it has attracted the attention of the Sanitary authorities, who, in their report, have upon statistics declared its mortality to be the highest in Bengal for the last three successive years, a fact which your memorialists cannot but view with the greatest concern and dismay. One most important point in connection with the subject of sanitation, is that, on account of the construction of the Murshidabad Railway, many of the subsidiary drains of the city which were connected with the main sewers, constructed at an enormous cost of about Rs. 30,000 by the Government, have been disconnected. Your memorialists, therefore, pray that the worn out drains be repaired and the disconnected ones be properly diverted to have free connection at the expense of the Government if the proper authorities will not or cannot attend to them.

3. That your memorialists also beg to draw Your Honor's kind attention to the fact that the silting up of the Bhagirathi and the stagnancy of its water cause an insufficient and unhealthy supply of pure drinking water. Your memorialists, under the circumstances, pray that, by *dredging the Bhagirathi* and making it navigable throughout the year, this long-felt desideratum be removed and the prospects of river traffic, which will directly improve the condition of the city, be increased. The experiment may be costly but is worth a trial in consideration of the interests involved.

4. That your memorialists beg leave to suggest that, having regard to the fertility of the soil, cheapness of labour and facility of irrigation, the *thick jungle may be cleared up at the expense of the Government and conveniently converted into a large lucrative farm*, thus improving the climate of the place and affording additional and practical means of livelihood to the poor labourers and cultivators and opening out new fields to the middle class people for acquiring a knowledge of cultivation. Your Honor's memorialists beg to observe that, for the improvement of the sanitary condition of the town, the objectionable *pits of larger dimensions may be easily converted into tanks and the smaller ones be completely filled up* so as to prevent the effusion of malarial gases and effluvia, and to give effect to this, as it would require at the least *Rs. 25,000*, which, for the limited resources of the memorialists, it would be impossible to afford, they fervently pray that Your Honor may be graciously pleased to sanction the amount for carrying out the project.

5. That Your Honor's memorialists most respectfully beg to bring it to Your Honor's foremost and kind notice that, for the preservation of the ancient dignity and prestige of this historic town and in consideration of the residence of many influential Zemindars, the Lalbagh Sub-Division was restored, though once abolished, after mature and deliberate consideration by two wise and kind-hearted successive Lieutenant-Governors who were held in high estimation by the public at large. Your memorialists, therefore, beg that, as a last boon to the people of this city, under Your Honor's liberal and sympathetic administration, Your Honor would be graciously pleased not only to *keep in status quo the existing Lalbagh Sub-Division* but to enhance its importance by converting it into a judicial centre, under the proposed scheme for the separation of the judicial from the executive and to adopt such measures as would increase the efficiency of the Sub-Division by introducing new Government offices and locating heads of departments such as the district headquarters station of the Murshidabad-Ranaghat Railway, etc.

6. That your memorialists beg to draw Your Honor's kind attention, that unless the aforesaid suggested measures be kindly taken up at an early date by the design Government to arrest precipitous decay, this City will soon become a ruin like Gour and be the habitation of wild animals.

In conclusion, your memorialists beg to assure Your Honor that your humble memorialists have ever been loyal and devoted to the British Government, and that they have viewed with abhorrence the anarchist movement, and have deprecated the dastardly crimes that have been attempted or committed in furtherance of that movement. Your memorialists hope that Your Honor will now, as also after laying down the reins of Your Honor's august government, endeavour to further the interests of the historic town of Murshidabad by helping in whatever might tend to its advancement, for which they will ever remain grateful to Your Honor.

And your memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

MURSHIDABAD, *The 10th August 1908.*

Leaves from the Editor's Note Book.



FOR members of this Society the appearance of a new and enlarged edition of Dr. Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* is an event of historical importance. We have all been counting the days till this fourth edition appeared, and, now we have it in our hands, our expectations are more than realised. The portrait of Madame de Talleyrand, by Madame Vigée le Brun, is a most welcome addition, and there are several other notable additions in the way of illustrations and maps. Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chief Justices*, tells us that he, at one time, proposed to bring a bill into Parliament not only to deprive an author who publishes a book without an index of the privilege of copy right, but also to subject him to a pecuniary penalty. The want of an index to the *Echoes* has, until now, been the only serious defect in the book to be complained of; but the defect was a grave one. Horace Binney did not overstate the matter when he wrote: "I have come to regard a good book as curtailed of half its value, if it has not a pretty full index." We, therefore, note with special satisfaction that the fourth edition of Dr. Busteed's book is provided with an index. Turning over the pages of this new edition, it will be found that, on almost every page, the Doctor has amplified his statements, and enriched his text. I beg to congratulate Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. most heartily both on the score of their good fortune in having the services of so distinguished a writer at their disposal, and also on the excellent workmanship displayed in the printing of this handsome volume. Dr. Busteed's book is one in which we Calcutta folk should take the greatest pride. M. Lenotre, in his *Vielles Mansions, Vieux Papiers*, has done for modern Paris what Busteed has achieved for Calcutta, but please consider the enormous difference in the supply of the materials with which Busteed and Lenotre have had to do their work. That Busteed can write a book about Calcutta, which can compare on the most unequal terms with Lenotre's books on Paris, is surely the most solid testimony that could be desired to Dr. Busteed's literary power. It is not too much to say that Dr. Busteed's book has a place of its own in the history of English literature.

ON page 100, in regard to Mr. Justice Stephen Cesar Lemaistre, Dr. Busteed writes: "His wife, who did not, I believe, accompany him to India

was Mary, daughter of James Roche, of Dublin, and sister of 'the celebrated Captain D. Roche' (for what he was celebrated I have not found), but she was also 'celebrated for her charms and elegance of manners.' So described even still in the catalogues of rare engravings." The reason for which Captain Roche was celebrated was duelling. In the account of Charles Grant's journey out to India in 1773, given in Mr. H. Morris' biography of that worthy, we read :

"Soon after leaving England a serious quarrel arose between Captain Roche, who had brought on board a reputation for strife, and Captain Fergusson, a brother officer, with whom Grant and his party had contracted a friendship. According to the evidence of the surgeon of the vessel, 'Captain Roche had rendered himself so obnoxious to the other passengers that he was voted out of the cabin mess.' This quarrel increased in virulence and intensity until they reached the Cape of Good Hope, where the ship arrived on the 4th September 1773. That evening a violent fracas took place between the two officers at Cape Town where the passengers had landed; and during the scuffle Captain Roche stabbed Captain Fergusson, who almost immediately expired. The two accounts of this conflict were diametrically opposed to each other. Grant asserted that while he and half a dozen other passengers, including Captain Fergusson, were at supper in a boarding house, the landlord informed the latter that a Captain Matthew wanted to speak to him. Soon after he had left the room, a scuffle was heard, and Grant, who had closely followed him, saw, in the imperfect light, Captain Fergusson fall mortally wounded, and at the same time observed that his assailant was running away. Grant was fully persuaded that Captain Roche was guilty of deliberate murder. Captain Roche, who, two years later, while he was detained in prison in England, published his version of the story, declared that, as he was passing the boarding house, Captain Fergusson rushed out and savagely attacked him with a cane and a sword, and that while defending himself he unintentionally slew him.*

"Captain Roche was tried for murder by the Dutch authorities, was acquitted by the Fiscal or the Supreme Judge at the Cape of Good Hope, and was permitted to proceed to Bombay by a French vessel. There he was tried by the Governor and his Council, acting as Justices of the Peace, in August 1774, and was sent to England under arrest, where he arrived in June 1775. He was again, on 11th December, put on his trial before a Commission appointed by the King's Privy Council, consisting of Baron Burland, one of H. M.'s Judges, the Lord Mayor, and two others at the Old Bailey. Act 33 of Henry VIII., for trial of offences committed in foreign parts outside the King's dominions, under which the Commission acted, rendered it imperative that the verdict should be one wholly of acquittal or condemnation, so that the offence could not be brought in as manslaughter. The jury acquitted the prisoner. The evidence was certainly most meagre and contradictory. With one exception, the principal witnesses were in India. The verdict was received by the public attending the Court with an unseemly exhibition of feeling in favour of the prisoner, which apparently there was no attempt on the part of the judges to suppress. This case created a great sensation at the time; but there is nothing to prove that it exercised an influence on the

* *A Plain and Circumstantial Account of the Transactions between Captain Roche and Lieutenant Fergusson, London 1775.* The present writer has examined some of the unpublished documents relative to this incident. Roche attempts in one of these to involve Charles Grant in a conspiracy to murder him.

mind of the nation adverse to the reprehensible custom of duelling, which was only too common during the last quarter of the eighteenth century."

"YES, Mr. Editor, this is doubtless very interesting, but what ground have you for identifying this particular Captain Roche with him who was the brother-in-law of S. C. Lemaistre?" In reply, I ask the reader to turn to the *Original Letters of Asiaticus*—a reprint of which book, carefully edited by my friend, Mr. K. N. Dhar, and annotated by myself, will shortly be on sale in Calcutta. The author of the *Original Letters* is one Captain Philip Dormer Stanhope, who reached Cape Town in May 1773. From that place he writes: "At present the conversation of the town is entirely taken up with the duel lately fought between the celebrated Captain David Roche, generally known by the appellation of Tyger Roche, and Captain Fergusson, belonging to the Company's land forces in Bengal. Fergusson fell in the engagement, and the story is here told rather to the disadvantage of Roche; but I believe there were no witnesses, who could prove the least improper behaviour on the part of Roche, and that his accusers were influenced by a most unjust and cruel prejudice. However, he secured a retreat on board a French vessel then lying in harbour, and is by this time arrived in India; the severity of the Dutch laws against duelling rendering it absolutely necessary for him to adopt the most expeditious mode of escaping from their territories." But Roche had not reached India. In July, Stanhope met with him on the Isle of Joanna, where he found Roche's ship lying, "dismasted and deserted by her crew, upon a reef of rocks." Let "*Asiaticus*" continue:—

He now leads a most unhappy life, amidst the execrations of the seamen, who look on him as another Jonas, and think themselves involved in the punishment, which the Almighty thus miraculously has inflicted upon the wretch who has dared to violate his commandments. Whatever the faults of Roche may be, I am sure the want of hospitality is not one. *Having formerly known his sister, who is married to one of the judges lately appointed to Bengal*, I took the liberty of introducing myself and was received by him in his Indian hut with a politeness and affability which would have done honour to a more splendid mansion. I was shocked to see a gentleman, who had once experienced all the elegancies of life, labouring under such unmerited distress, and was easily persuaded to alleviate the horrors of his solitude during the few days we shall remain at Joanna by bringing my bed on shore and sharing with him the conveniences of his hut, which, though not overburthened with furniture or superfluous ornaments, is yet a very comfortable retreat, when compared to a dirty cabin. He related to me all the circumstances of his duel, together with the various provocations, which, as a military man, he was obliged to resent; and declared his intention of demanding an impartial trial upon his arrival at Bombay, when I doubt not of his being honourably acquitted of every aspersion, which the malice of his enemies has wantonly thrown upon his character.

THE author of the *Original Letters of Asiaticus* was, as I have said, Captain Philip Dormer Stanhope; this is clear from the title-page of the second



THE OCTAGONAL SUMMER HOUSE, BARABET.
(Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)

edition published (a year after the first) in 1785. Dr. Robert Watt (*Bibliotheca Britannica*, Vol. II, p. 875) and Allibone (*Critical Dictionary of English Literature*) identify this Captain Stanhope with the Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, but that noble man died in 1773, and the experiences recorded in the *Original Letters* only commence 'in that year. It must be borne in mind that the *Original Letters of Asiaticus* is a work quite distinct from the more often quoted book which has borne these three several titles :—

1. *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal, 1803.*
2. *Compendious Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches of Bengal since the Foundation of Calcutta, 1819.*
3. *Calcutta in the Days of Yore: the Memoirs of Asiaticus, 1869.*

"Asiaticus" has been generally quoted at second hand, and it is not surprising therefore that the question "Who was Asiaticus?" has been somewhat complicated. The authorship of the *Ecclesiastical and Historical Sketches* has been ascribed to Warren Hastings' ardent but indiscreet champion, Major Scott Waring, and although there is no reason to doubt that the Major made use of that *nom-de-plume* in the course of his pamphlet warfare, it is clear that the author of the *Sketches*, who was in Calcutta in the momentous year 1757 and who had conversed with Omichand, could not have been the Major. Mr. Dhar's reprint of the *Original Letters* will leave writers who quote "Asiaticus" without excuse if they omit to give their references.

ON pp. 204-205 of Vol. I, Dr. Busteed set the Society the following problem :—

"In Mackrabie's original diary, I remember seeing this entry : it occurs when speaking of the card-playing at 'Barasutt,' February, 1776 :—

'Next morning such of us as were not too fatigued to leave our mattresses rode or walked to an Octagon Summer House built upon an eminence by the late Mr. Lambert, who was the husband of Lady Hope. This is a pretty toy erected on an eminence and distant about a mile from Barasutt, with walks and flowering shrubs and gardens, the ashes of that gentlemen (for his body was burned by his particular direction) are deposited under the building.' Is there anything known or traceable about these names, that structure, or that deposit under it?"

IF the reader will turn back to page 261 of the present volume he will see that the honour fell to Mr. K. N. Dhar of bringing back to knowledge the site of this old Octagon Summer House. A few weeks ago, I, in company with my friend, Mr. C. H. Hooper, repaired to Baraset. We were quite prepared to wander far and wide without discovering the Octagon, but at the

Railway Station we fell in with a most excellent *tica ghari* driver who seemed to have divined the special object of our journey, and who drove us off in great triumph to the Madhumarali tank. Despite the scriptural precept commending to us the praise of great men, we do not often praise our *tica ghariwallas*, but our friend at Baraset certainly deserves all the praise I can bestow. With the greatest enthusiasm he took us to every spot in or about Baraset we desired to visit, and, if only I could have understood more perfectly the information he was ready to impart, I should have returned a far better informed person than, I am afraid, I remain. Mr. Hooper's photographs record our finds on this occasion.

IN the last number I wrote (p. 417), in regard to the Memorial of those who perished in the Patna massacre of 1763, "the name of Sir William Hope, Bart., will be noted. His wife made her escape to the Dutch Factory, and I have no doubt that she was the Lady Hope who married the Mr. Lambert whose Octagon at Baraset was mentioned by Dr. Busteed." I consulted Burke's *Baronetage*, but, alas! while I found that a Sir W. Hope, Bart., died in 1763, he is reported to have been unmarried; but, on consulting the registers at St. John's, I found this entry against 27th April 1764—

William Lambert and Lady Margaret Hope, Widow.

According to old custom, Lady Hope, although married to Mr. Lambert, elected still to be called by her higher social appellation, and on 1st February 1768 I find Mr. Lambert successfully petitioning for a passage for "Lady Hope" on the *Lord Elgin* (Captain Thomas Cooke). Poor Lambert had apparently, like most Calcutta men of his times, many a painful loss of fortune.* He entered the Company's Service about 1760, and from 1763 to 1766 was Military Paymaster-General; then came a redistribution of offices, and our friend, married to a lady of consequence and blessed with a family, was suddenly left deprived of the bulk of his income, and also with a most inconvenient amount of unsold timber, which he had provided for the purpose of securing the new Fort William from river encroachments. At this time he seems to have fallen into discredit on the score of his accounts. I have traced him through several appointments. He was but a mere Factor in October 1766; in January of 1767, he was Clerk of the Court of Requests, and I have traced his name in the records of the "Court of Cutcherry." In 1768, as we have seen, he sent his wife home. I can trace him fourth on the Murshidabad Council of Revenue in 1771, and

* In 1766, he borrowed Rs. 51,885 at 10 per cent. interest per annum from "Kissen Chum Taccor, Sircar to the Storekeeper of the new works," and in 1768 sold a new house to the same person. These transactions led to litigation after Lambert's death. I find traces of his commercial speculations (not fortunate) in the old Collectorate records of Midnapore.



THE OCTAGONAL SUMMERHOUSE, HARASEE.
(Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)



A NAMDESS MONUMENT AT HARASEE.
(Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)



MRS. FAY'S PLACE OF BUSINESS—THE OLD POST OFFICE.
(Photo by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)



THE KUTCH MINAR, DICHU.
(Photo by Messrs. Bennett & Shepherd.)

I find his signature as a member of the Board of Inspection in the old Collectorate Records of Chittagong. On 6th February 1772 he was appointed Chief at Dacca, but, on the resignation of President Cartier, he was given a place on the Council at Calcutta. He remained at Dacca till August, and then removed to Murshidabad, "that place so much superior in point of climate:" thence he came to Calcutta. In 1774 he became Chief at Dinagepore, and there he died on 18th September, "at 8 A.M. after nine days' illness." Surely this old Octagon has a pathetic love story to tell us. Think of what Lady Hope must have passed through in the troubles of 1763, and of poor Lambert, after his long separation from his wife, asking nothing more than that his ashes might be buried beneath the dear old Octagon at Baraset. Should not the Society do something for its preservation?

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CRAWFORD'S article on Pandua, with its illustrations, will show that an expedition to Pandua will be worth the Society's while. It is quite possible in May to spend a good hour and a half at the ruins, leaving Calcutta about 3-0 P.M. and getting back only just a little late for dinner, but this would not be possible in the cold weather when the evenings close in early. The ruins are a good mile and a half from the Railway Station; and it would be unwise to attempt a visit in the rains. The best course the Society could take, would be to leave Calcutta early one morning in December or January, visit Pandua, and then proceed to Burdwan, thus giving one whole day to two interesting places. By way of contrast, I give here a view of the Kitub Minar at Delhi.

WHEN this combined expedition has been accomplished, the Society will have seen a good deal of the Hughli, Burdwan, and Murshidabad districts. Will it be possible to extend our survey to the Jessore district? How full of interest, for instance, would be a visit to Muhammadpur—the great quadrangular enclosure in which stood the Fortress and Palace of Rájá Sitá Rám Roy. By the year 1896 the ruins of the Palace had become inaccessible owing to the dense jungle growth: how things stand at the present day I cannot tell, but if a visit on the part of our Society were to serve to bring about a rescue of these monuments of ancient Bengal from sheer destruction, we should have very good cause for congratulation. In the *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal*, published by the Government of Bengal, there is a list of the Muhammadpur monuments from which, as I understand the book is no longer procurable, I will venture to make some extracts.

Fort ruins.

There is a large quadrangle, which encloses most of his (the Rájá's) buildings, within which he kept his soldiers, and

The Rájá of Nátore is in possession of The Fort is now in ruins and overgrown with

within which was his own house. It measures more than half a mile in each direction, and is surrounded on each side by an excavated ditch, the earth of which thrown inwards is used to raise the level of the quadrangle, and specially of the edges of it, leaving as it were a ramp round it. The ditch on the eastern and northern sides has gradually filled in, principally through the influence of the river, but that on the western side is still full of water. On the southern side, the ditch is larger than on any other side. It forms a fine sheet of water, a mile long, looking almost like a river. By the earth obtained from these excavations, and by that obtained from tanks within its area, the level of almost the whole quadrangle has been considerably raised, a work which in itself represents an enormous amount of labour.

The chief entrance to the quadrangle is at the south-east corner. From here is seen toward the north the high and broad ramp upon which stood the bazar, and at the southern end of which is the more meagre bazar of the present day. On the south, just outside the boundary of the quadrangle, is Sitáram's great tank, the Rám Ságar, and a quarter of a mile to the west of this is another tank called the Sukh Ságar, or the lake of pleasure.

Rám Ságar and
Sukh Ságar
tanks.

Temple of Ram-
chandra.

It was erected about the year 1800 by the Nátoré Rájá, whose family obtained the zamindari after it had passed out of Sitáram's hands. It is a two-storeyed building, the upper storey being smaller in extent than the lower, and each storey having an arched verandah in front. The building contains nothing remarkable. It was endowed with certain rent-free lands, which included the jalkar of the Rám Ságar, but its endowments were resumed by Government.

Dol Mandir
Temple.

The building just described is on the south of the road, and on the north side, in front of it, is an open space, in which is the "Dol Mandir," where the swinging festival at the fullmoon of Phálgun (the Dol Játirá) is held. This is a building of Sitáram's time. The form of the building is that of a magnified sentry-

the whole estate of Rájá Sitá Rám Roy. The Fort is in the custody of his Naib at Muhammadpur.

denae jungle

The Rájá of Nátoré is in possession. It is in charge of the Rájá's Naib. The service is still carried on from the profits of certain rent-free lands, and is managed by the same person who looks after the services in Sitáram's old temple. The idol is daily worshipped.

The building is still in good order.

In possession of the Nátoré Rájá. The Mandir is still used for the performance of Dol Játirá puja every

The building is still in good order, the plaster work being occasionally repaired. The plinth needs repair.

box, a pointed arched roof, supported upon four columns placed square; these again elevated upon a pedestal of three tiers.

year, and is in charge of the Naib.

Close to the temple there are three buildings, the Punya Garh on the north, the cutcherry of Parganá Naldi on the south, and the jail.

Sitáráam's treasure tank.

Along the western side of this cutcherry and jail, extends a tank, at the further side of which are the ruins of Sitáráam's own house. The tank runs up close to the house, and a wall, the foundations of which are still easily traceable, ran round the tank on the east and north sides, enclosing it so as to be within Sitáráam's private enclosure. This tank was used as a treasure-room. The wealth that Sitáráam accumulated was thrown in here until it was wanted. It is said that great wealth even now remains buried at the bottom of the tank beneath the grassy jungle which now fills it.

The Rájá of Nátoré is in possession.

Is in good order, having been re-excavated some years ago.

Sitáráam's real den.

Sitáráam's own house is unapproachable for the density of the jungle, which has been allowed to spread over almost the whole quadrangle.

Do. do.

Is in utter ruins and overgrown with dense jungle.

Punya Garh (Fort).

The main entrance to this fort is designated Singh Darwaza or Lion Gate which admitted to Sitáráam's private buildings.

Within the Naldi Zemindari of the Paikpárá Estate.

This gate was once a large structure, but now only the arch of it remains. The top of the arch is in the shape of one-half of a dome, the hollow side forming outwards.

The Lion Gate leads to a little courtyard, with three buildings, one on each side, not much larger than ordinary native huts, but built of bricks. That facing the gate is the malkhana or treasure-room of Sitáráam and that on the left side is the guard-house. These two buildings were used for these purposes by the Rájás of Nátoré, when after Sitáráam's time they obtained the zamindari. When, however, their zamindari of Naldi was sold up (about 1800), the purchasers forcibly expelled the Nátoré people from these houses, and they, obliged to erect a treasure-room for themselves, built the little one on the right-hand side.

Adjoining the gate on the north, is the Punya Garh, that is, the place where the first collections of the year were made, a half religious ceremony is performed about Ashádha (June-July) in each year at the principal collecting places of the zamindari.

Temple of Siva. Just south of the treasure-room there is a small gateway coming down from Sītārām's time, which leads to a small courtyard at the back of the treasure-room. The building facing the gateway on the west is a common Siva Mandir (place of worship of Siva) erected by the Nátore Rájās. It is much in the shape of a native hut with its pent roof and verandah in front, opening outward by three arches.

In the possession of the Nátore Rájā. Out of use.

The plaster over the brickwork is sculptured, but much of it has fallen off. It is in broken condition; only three arches are now in existence.

Close to the Siva Mandir, on the west, there is another courtyard, the west and south sides of which are closed by the Toshákháná, a long shed, fronted with arches, in which in Sītārām's time all the vessels were kept which had anything to do with the temple service, and probably profane vessels also.

Temple of Kálí. On the north, on the bank of the treasure tank, there is the Temple of Kálí, the smallest and the oldest of Sītārām's three temples. In shape it resembles the newer structure just described—a masonry erection in the shape and size of a native hut, with a verandah in front. The deity worshipped here is a small idol, and is called Dasabhujá, "the ten-armed," an epithet of the goddess Kálí. The temple once bore an inscription, which has either been stolen, or, more likely, lies among the *debris* of the broken arches. The inscription, which was in Sanskrit, ran thus:—

Mahábhujá, rasa, káshanní, Sake Dasabhujálayam. Akára Sri Sītárámaráyaṇa Mandíram.

"In the year of the era called Sak, earth-arms—tastes-earth, this temple, the abode of Dasabhujá, was built by Sītáráma Rája."

[The date here requires some explanation. The Sak era commenced in 78 A.D. The date is given in a sort of enigmatical manner, by the words earth-arms, tastes-earth, and the plan of their enigma is thus explained:—

"Earth" stands for *one*, for there is only *one* earth.

"Arms" means *two*, for every one has two arms.

"Tastes"—Hindus enumerate *six* tastes: they are pungent, sour, saline, bitter, acid and sweet.

In the possession of the Rájā of Nátore. Dally pújá of Dasabhujá is performed here, as also annual Durgá and Bísantí pújas.

The arches opening out of the verandah have fallen down, and an attempt has been made to repair them by masonry of the most clumsy and unstable style. A little of the temple as constructed originally exists.

"Earth," as above, represents one.

The date is therefore 1 and 3 and 6 and 1, or as we write it, with the largest denomination first, 1621. This year began in April 1699.]

Temple of
Lakshmi
Nārāyan.

The temple of Lakshmi Nārāyan is an octagonal structure with two storeys, having a flat roof, and has no pretensions to architectural form or beauty. In the upper storey the god reposes at night, and for the day he is brought down to the lower storey, where he remains upon a couch. In front of him and upon the same couch are two little idols, three or four inches high, Govind and Lakshmi, who are probably his attendants. It is agreed by everybody that Lakshmi Nārāyan (which is very like an ordinary round-shaped stone) was found by Sitārām under ground. There was a dedicatory stone upon this temple which has been either stolen or lost. The inscription on it, as furnished by the Superintendent of the temples, ran thus :—

Lakshmi, Nārāyan, Sityai Tark, Akshi, Rasa, Bhō, Sake, Nirmitan-pitri, punya, Artham Sitārāmena Mandirām.

"For the abode of Lakshmi Nārāyan in the year of Sak, logic-eye-taste-earth, this temple was built by Sitārām for the sake of the beatitude of his father.

[The date is thus read :—

"Logic."—There are *six* systems of logic.

"Eye."—Eyes always go by *twos*.

"Taste."—As explained above, there are *six* tastes.

"Earth."—As shown above, stands for *one*.

Reading this with the last figure, the thousands first as we do in English, we have the date 1626 of the Sak era, which commenced in April 1704.]

Temple of
Krishna.

Beyond the limits of the quadrangle in the forest lies the village Kānhāyanagar. Buried amid its trees and houses is a square of temples built by Sitārām, one of them, the temple of Krishna, being the finest building of the sort in the district. This building is on the west side of the square, and therefore fronting east. It is a square building, with a tower, surmounted by a painted dome,

In the possession of the Nātoré. In good condition. Rājā. Daily worship of the idol is performed.

Ditto Ditto ... The whole temple is raised on a pedestal, whose floor is some three feet above the soil; and the temple and pedestal surrounding are still in very

rising out of the middle of it. This tower is as high again as the building, and is composed merely of the cupola and the painted arches which support it. The front of the temple shows a face gradually rising from the sides to the middle, and flanked by two towers which rise rather higher than the roof. The tower to the front present a face showing three arches of the pointed form, one above the other, supporting a pointed dome.

good order, though signs of decay are showing themselves. The temple is in good order, excepting a few jungle plants growing upon the top of the temple, and there are also signs of cracks visible on the top of the temple.

The top of the front face is, as already stated, in the form of the arc of a circle, higher in the middle than at the sides. Beneath the top line, and parallel with it, two bands of ornamented tracery are carried across the face, and between them a series of little sculptured squares, about 20 in all. The top line is also itself ornamented, and with the two bands noticed, occupies about a quarter of the height of the front. Beneath these the face is divided into five equally broad portions. The two outer parts contain each three perpendicular bands of ornamented tracery with two lines of little sculptured squares between them. The other three parts contain doorways, of which the centre one is higher than the other two. In outline they are of the pointed-arch form, but instead of having their sides simple lines, they are waved, so as to be a succession of semi-circles. Above each of the doorways is a large square of equal breadth with the doorway, containing a device which at first sight looks remarkably like the "lion and unicorn fighting for the crown." It is, however, intended to represent two lions supporting a chalice. The spaces between the sides of the arches and the squares above the doorways are also ornamented.

The whole face of the building, therefore, and partly also of the towers, is one mass of tracery and figured ornament. The sculptured squares, above referred to, of which there must be about fifty on this front face, represent each an episode in Krishna's life. The figures in them, as well as all the rest of the ornament, are done in relief on the brickwork of the building, the bricks being sculptured either before or after burning. The figures are very well done, and the tracery is all perfectly regular, having none of the slipshod

style which too often characterises native art in these districts.

The sides of the building present much the same appearance as the front, but, instead of three doorways or two spaces, they have five doorways: within the doorways, both in front and at the sides, is a verandah, and the entrance to the temple is from this verandah, the image of Krishna being inside.

On the top of the lowest arch of the tower a small round stone, twelve or eighteen inches in diameter, is let into the face of the brickwork. It bears a dedicatory inscription written in the Sanskrit language with Bengali letters, which though fairly formed, are somewhat huddled together, and are not very easily read. The inscription, which is written in four lines of Prakriti metre, is as follows:—Vana, dwandre, anga chandre pariganita sake Krishna, tosh, abhilashi—Srimad, visvāsa, bhaash, ud-bhaba, Kula, kamale, bhasaka Bhaun-tulyah—Ajasram Sauda, yukte ruchira, rôchi, Hare Krishna, geham vichitram—Sri, Sitārāma Raya jadupati nagare bhaktiman, utsasarjja.

"In the year of Sak, counted by arrow-pair-limb-moon, desirous of gratifying Krishna, Sitārāma Rāya, who is like a resplendent sun on the lotus of the family, to which attaches the great name of Bisvās (that is, who cast—a lustre on the great Bisvās family, to which Sitārām belonged, as the sun casts a lustre on the lotus), erected in his devotion this splendid house of Krishna, within Jadupatinagar, a city filled with innumerable mansions, and so beautiful (that it) deprives of beauty that which is beautiful."

Jadupati and Kānhāyā are both synonyms for Krishna. *Jadupatinagar* is accordingly made, for metrical reasons, to do service for Kānhāyānagar, the name of the village within which this temple is situated. Sitārām apparently considered that the many buildings which he had erected within his quadrangle were within the limits of the village Kānhāyānagar, and therefore refers to the village as "filled with innumerable mansions."

[The date remains to be explained:—

"Arrow" refers to the *five* arrows of Cupid.

"Pair" of course stands for *two*.

"Limb"—The Hindu enumerates *six* limbs.

"Moon"—Of course there is only one moon.

The year therefore is 1625 Sák, which began in April 1703.]

Temple
Balarám.

of The building which looks into the same square, facing southward, is a temple of Balarám. It has no architectural pretensions, being in the shape of two native huts placed along each other, the front one being a verandah opening in front with three arches, and the one further back being the abode of Balarám.

In the possession of the Natore Rájá. Daily worship of the idols is performed.

The original building is not in existence, but a small square building with a flat roof has been constructed by the Natore Rájá on the same site.

The building on the east side of the square, and facing west, is a much finer one than the last, though not nearly so good as the temple of Krishna. Its frontage shows three doors, the centre one being higher than the other two, and all being of the pointed-arch shape. They are each surmounted by a square containing, in relief, the same device which is seen in the finest structure, namely, two lions and a cup. The top of this building is in the three domes, all of the pointed form and finished off with pinnacles, and the central dome is higher than the two side ones; it is both higher in position (as the frontage of the building rises towards the centre), and it is larger in form. Between the doors and across the top of the face there is a good deal of tracery work executed in relief in the brickwork.

An octagonal building closes the square on the south. It was the place for keeping the vessels which belonged to the service of the idols. It is said they were very fine vessels, but one of the raminars, who had control over them, considered he could make them more useful in his own service, and stole them.

IN the article "Our Work," which appeared in the first number of BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT, I wrote:—"In the compound of a babu's villa at Champdani are two European graves—one of them the grave of a soldier in his day distinguished for bravery in the great struggle in the Carnatic." The inscriptions on the two graves read as follows:—

To the Memory of Major JAMES MOORE,
Who so gallantly distinguished himself during the late war in the Carnatic.
He died the 26th of January, 1785, aged 34 years.

To the Memory of Robert Wilson, Esq.,
Many years in the Service of the Hon'ble Company,
who departed this life here on 9th June, A.D. 1813, aged 73 years.

"ON the 26th of January," writes Captain S. Parby, "a Major Moore of the Bengal detachment destroyed himself by discharging the contents of a fowling piece into his mouth. This melancholy circumstance was reported to Colonel Pearce (who appears to have been absent from Ghzyrtli) by Captain Williamson, and we find the signatures of the undermentioned officers to the opinion that 'a violent depression of spirits, almost bordering on insanity caused the fatal act.'

"D. Ochterlony, Lieut.

"T. Eales, Lieut.

"G. A. Swiney, Lieut.

"Edwin Lloyd, Lieut.

"A. Hennessey, Adjutant."

The Ochterlony, who signs himself here, is the hero commemorated by the great column on the Calcutta maidan.

THE following document, which I reprint from J. C. Price's *Notes on the History of Midnapore* (1876), will be of considerable interest to the student of Old Calcutta.

Notice is hereby given that on Monday, the 17th January 1774, will be sold by public outcry, at the old playhouse by the Company's auctioneer, the following houses belonging to the Hon'ble Company:—

The House and Garden of Duni-Dumna.—A large upper-roomed house, part pucca, and part cutcha, in good repair, consisting of five bed-chambers, two closets, two backstairs, a hall and veranda all round it, with a large staircase. The chambers and closets below as the above. Stabling for six horses and two carriages, a range of godowns, a separate cutcha building for a bath, another for a billiard table. A large garden, part raised with a very fine tank and surrounded with a ditch, and a spot of ground to the east and another to the south without the ditch and containing in all 126 beegahs and 9 cottahs.

The House and Garden of Baraset.—An upper-room house, part pucca, part cutcha, contains four bed chambers, two backstairs, two halls and veranda, a great staircase to the south. A new cutcha detached building, consisting of a cook-room, bath-room and bake-house with a stable at some distance from the house, built of posts and a straw chupper, very large and commodious, sufficient for ten carriages and four and twenty horses. A garden surrounded with railing, and a ditch and a tank, and a very extensive avenue in front which leads to the public road, containing in all about 27 beegahs 19 cottahs.

The Old Council House.—A cutcha building in Calcutta, with a detached building for a godown, cook-room, etc., and a compound, part surrounded with a railing, containing 4 beegahs, 11 cottahs of ground.

Cuttully.—Situated in the great bazar near the Nawab's house. Is a small compound with two cutcha buildings, one upper and lower.

The New Foundry.—Situated in Darrumtollah bazar, near a mile from the river. Is an oblong plot of ground about 270 feet long and 95 broad, in which there is 159 square feet of pucca building in sheds, shops, and furnaces in a very good repair, being all built since the year 1769. The whole is about 2 beegahs of ground.

The Magazine Yard.—Situated between the street leading from the Government House and the old burying ground, the range of godowns belonging to Major Fortnam on the south side, and the garden of the head-surgeon's house and a house occupied by Captain Hog on the north. Is a plot of ground nearly a square one hundred yards, two sides of which are covered with strong sheds in bad repair, and near the centre is a circular building of pucca 60 feet in diameter, which has formerly been used as a magazine. There is also in the plot a tank about one hundred feet square and contains about 6 beegahs and 4 cottahs of ground.

The conditions of the sale for current rupees to be paid two months after the day of the sale.

By order of the Hon'ble the President and Board of Inspection.

FORT WILLIAM :
The 9th December 1773.

J. BAUGH,
Secretary, Board of Inspection.

THIS advertisement is in itself a little museum of topographical interest. In the first place, the "Old Play House" is the building in the Lall Bazar which screened Suraj-ud-daula's guns in 1756. The auctioneer is George Williamson, whom Sydney Grier identifies with one who was formerly Sir Eyre Coote's English groom—an identification I cannot accept. A good deal about Williamson may be read in my *Early History of Freemasonry in Bengal* (Thacker, Spink & Co.). For the Dum-Dumma House the reader must turn back to p. 243 of the present volume. I shall have a word to say on the score of Baraset later on. The Magazine Yard is, of course, the eastern portion of the present compound of St. John's Church. The site of the tank referred to may be marked by the Chaplain's house. On 3rd April 1782 sold this piece of land to Warren Hastings for sicca Rs. 10,000, but there is some mystery attaching to the transaction. On 22nd December 1783, Hastings informed the "Church Committee" that he had received from the "Maharajah Nobkissen" the gift of the piece of ground adjoining the old burying ground on the east, and known as the Old Powder Magazine Yard, for the purpose of building a Church. The formal conveyance of the ground by Warren Hastings to the Church Building Committee was executed on the 1st February 1785. But where was situated that *cutchra* Council House?

My friend, Lt.-Col. Crawford, has called my attention to two documents connected with the loss of the *Grosvener*. The first is a letter, dated 1st July 1783, from the Dutch Governor of the Cape (Joakim Van Plettenberg) to the Governor-General (Warren Hastings), reporting the loss of the ship. This was the earliest intelligence of the disaster that reached Calcutta. Holland and Great Britain were at the time at war, and consequently the exertions of the Dutch to recover and care for the lost English folk was

specially appreciated. The second document is a draft of a letter to the Dutch Governor, presenting him with a diamond ring, which cost Rs. 11,500 and was inscribed *Ab hoste doceri*. The letter states that Mr. Secretary J. P. Auriol was to be the bearer of the ring and the letter.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

Note.—By an unfortunate accident a footnote has been misplaced in the present number. The footnote which appears on p. 479. It should have appeared on p. 477: it relates to the *fracts* at the Court House.



Job Charnock of the Mid-Day Halt.

(24TH AUGUST 1690.)

THE warring shires with strife were torn,
And England's King stood sore in need,
When, to an English home, was born
A child of rock-hewn birth and breed.

They named him Job before the Lord—
—Job Charnock—at a font unknown,
While crop-eared might with lifted sword
Frowned froward by a self-broke throne

Was it a kneeling mother thought
On him of old who walked upright,
Who spake with God, and ever wrought
Upstanding in his Maker's sight?

Ere Moses dashed the Law in twain
At sight of Israel's molten kine
In herding Us was fashioned plain
The rule of His acclaimed design.

Clear called from out the bolt-ripped cloud—
To flinch not though the mountains jar,—
And the proud dark, colossal, shroud
The rightness of the things that are.

Sad Job of Time's unshackled dawn
Saw Sabea smite and cursed our fate.
He held the hand that rocks the morn
And wakes the chambers of the gate.

And, counting darts as stubble, knew
To deem as nought the shaking spear,
The habergeon to eschew
And front high wrath with kingly fear.

And Job of England took the thread
Of fate as spun at Heaven's command,
And knew the slings of doubt and dread
But deep things out of darkness planned.

Perchance, his sire on Naseby sward
Saw England's lion standard shine,—
And heard the shouts for church and lord
Ring all along the charging line.

Then saw the stallion squadrons reel
At shock of pike and thrust of blade,
And, thwarted by a wall of steel,
Remiless Rupert all unmade—

The flank flecked manless steeds in flight,
The shattered lance, the dinted mail,
A mob-led kingdom madly right,
And Rupert's ride without avail.

For who shall scan His wisdom dread?
The padding droves of Us delight
To greet the war-star's panels red
That blush the sky-scape of the night.

Job's youth is set behind the reach
Of seeking ones who probe and plod.
Mayhap, he heard the tinker teach
The Pilgrim way that leads to God.

And crossed the slough by Christian's side
And met the lions, face to face,
And fought, with him, Despair and Pride—
Great-hearted to the stool of Grace.

(Who thinks to-day on Bedford town—
On Bedford bridge and ready stream,
Or heeds to take the old tome down
To con the glorious tinker's dream?)

Mayhap, he watched by Whitehall gate
Blunt Oliver, uncrowned of men,
Full sceptred in a coach and eight—
With Milton of the seraph pen.

And shouted from the kerb-stone throng,
The while the palfreys pranced in line,
And thought on that majestic song
Of Ormuz and Golconda's mine.

How Salem's courts of lattice laced
Loud fluttered as the peacocks preened
For silken girls, who laughing, graced
The rose senanas, ivory screened.

What time the poet ruler strode,
Arm laden, to the scented room,
And tossed to white gemmed hands the load
Of woven foam from Dacca's loom.

And mused on Jehan's marble dream,—
High altar of a sleepless love—
The bubble dome—the yellow stream—
The towers that top the cypress grove.

And heard the East a call at thought
Of all the apes that swung serene
On Olivet from Ophir brought
For pearl-roped Sheba's wistful queen.

Who hears the East a-call, must rise
And follow fast, in spite of fears;
Though in her lurking glance there lies
The sadness of a thousand years.

The pilot gone, they slipped the Nore,
And left the luring rocks behind,
Where Tarshish ships, in days of yore,
Were broken by the Eastern wind.

And hugged the coast by Atlas crowned,
Then plunging, made the open main,
Nor dared the moorman's seas that bound
The couchant lion of granite Spain.

Then Eastward Ho, for Ormuz gold!
And Eastward Ho, for Cape and Bay!
Though England's oaks are gnarled and old
And England's noons are chill and grey.

The wisdom of the world is wise
But weary with a weight of fears.
With us the course compelling lies
'Tis ours to shape th' unfolding years.

They met the Dutchman bellying past,
Where crested combers overwhelm,
Full hard against th' opposing blast
And Vanderdecken at the helm.

And, hungerbitter, sought and sailed
Where thick clouds bind the sullen wave,
Where moves Behemoth cedar tailed,
With eyes like morning's eye-lids brave.

Out of his mouth go lamps a burn,
And all the flakes of all his flesh
Wear crimson when the levens turn
The wine-dark flood to light afresh.

By amber planets, wan with rain,
Stiff moons that lease the troubled soul,
Whose meerschaumed seas slide sheer amain
Upending to the southern pole.

Then by the Bay where pirates thrive—
—The pirates who the galleons find—
And ill sagged gusts and gales contrive
A cauldron of the vexing wind.

The rest is told for those who seek,—
The rest is writ for all may see
How Charnock like the well greaved Greek,
Held for the West the East in fee.

He halted, where the myna wings,
And laid the walls of William's day—
And all the keels of all the Kings
Come riding up the waterway.

Wide Asia's Queen of sure emprise,—
The city million-floored to bless,—
The city of the flaming skies,—
The city of the world's caress.

Of fighting Holwell undismayed,—
Of Hastings of the wondrous brow,
Of Plassey of the leaping blade,—
Of keening kite and scarlet bough.

And here he sleeps, and by his side,
Sole sharer of death's kindly gloom,
The sapphire girdled dark-eye'd bride
He wrested from the sandal fume.

White Wielder of the Law unbought,
High Wardress of the East's desire,
The city of the scatheless court,
The city of the pointing spire!

DAK (in the *Empire*.)

General Note-Book.



AN article in No. 3, Vol. II. of *BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT* by Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, entitled "Some Notes on Monghyr," mentions (page 300), among other objects of interest in Monghyr, the tomb of the Poet Ashraf. In "The Student's Geography of India," by Dr. George Smith, C.I.E., published by John Murray in 1882, this tomb is also mentioned as one of the principal objects of interest in Monghyr; indeed, it is the only place, except the Fort, which is mentioned at all.

When the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, visited Monghyr in 1902, he expressed a desire to see this tomb, and a hurried search was made for it, unfortunately without success, for no one in Monghyr, European or native, had ever heard of Ashraf, much less knew where he was buried. Had they only known it, the tomb was exactly in front of the place where the *Rhotas*, with the Viceroy on board, was anchored; and the tomb was well within his sight the whole time he was there.

After a good deal of trouble, I was fortunate enough to succeed in tracing the tomb. The late Major Moir, I.M.S., advised me to apply to Colonel G. S. Ranking, I.M.S., then Secretary to the Board of Examiners in Calcutta and a well-known Arabic and Persian scholar, for information about Ashraf, and Colonel Ranking was kind enough to give me the following information, with the help of which I succeeded in tracing the whereabouts of the tomb.

Ashraf was the poetical *nom-de-plume* of Mullah Muhammad Salyad, the son of Muhammad Salih Mazindarani (*i.e.*, coming from Mazindaran, on the Caspian Sea). He came to India during the reign of Aurangzeb and was employed as tutor to Zibannissa Begum, daughter of the Padshah, and herself a poetess of no mean renown. In 1672 he obtained leave of absence and went to Ispahan, then the capital of Persia. A few years later he came back to India and was employed by Shahzada Azim-as-shan, Viceroy of Bengal, the second son of Shah Alam, eldest son of Aurangzeb. In his old age he determined to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but did not live to carry out his intention, and died at Monghyr in the year 1704.

Ashraf was the author of a *Masnawi* called "Madan Taif," also of a commentary on the *Kafiyat* and of a *Diwan*. His complete poetical works are enumerated among the Oudh MSS. ("Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani MSS. in the libraries of the King of Oudh." Edited by Assistant-Surgeon Aloys Sprenger, Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1854.)



WESTERN BASTION OF MONGHYR FORT.
Scandal Point seen in the distance

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1904 1905 1906 1907

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1912 1913 1914 1915

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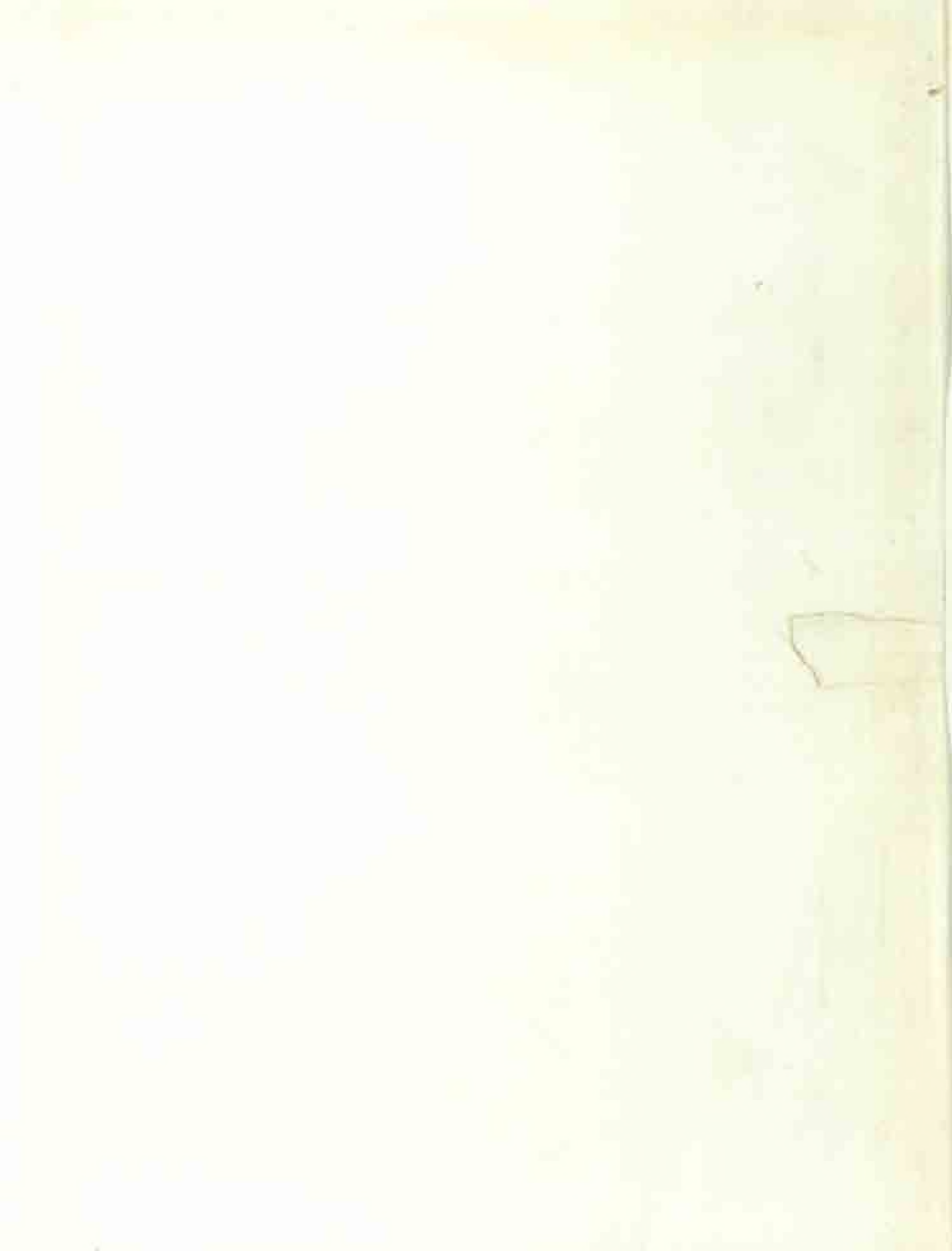
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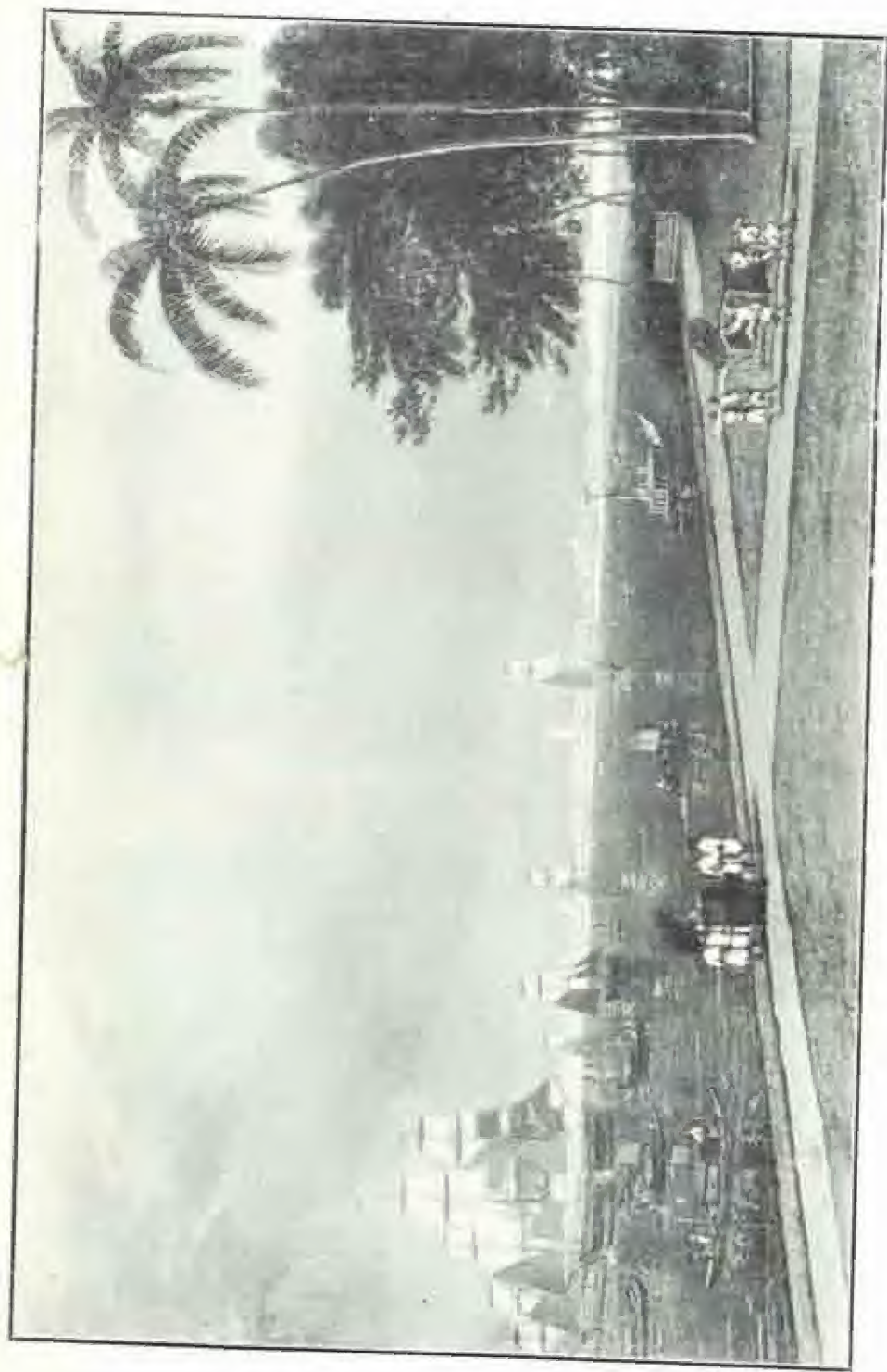
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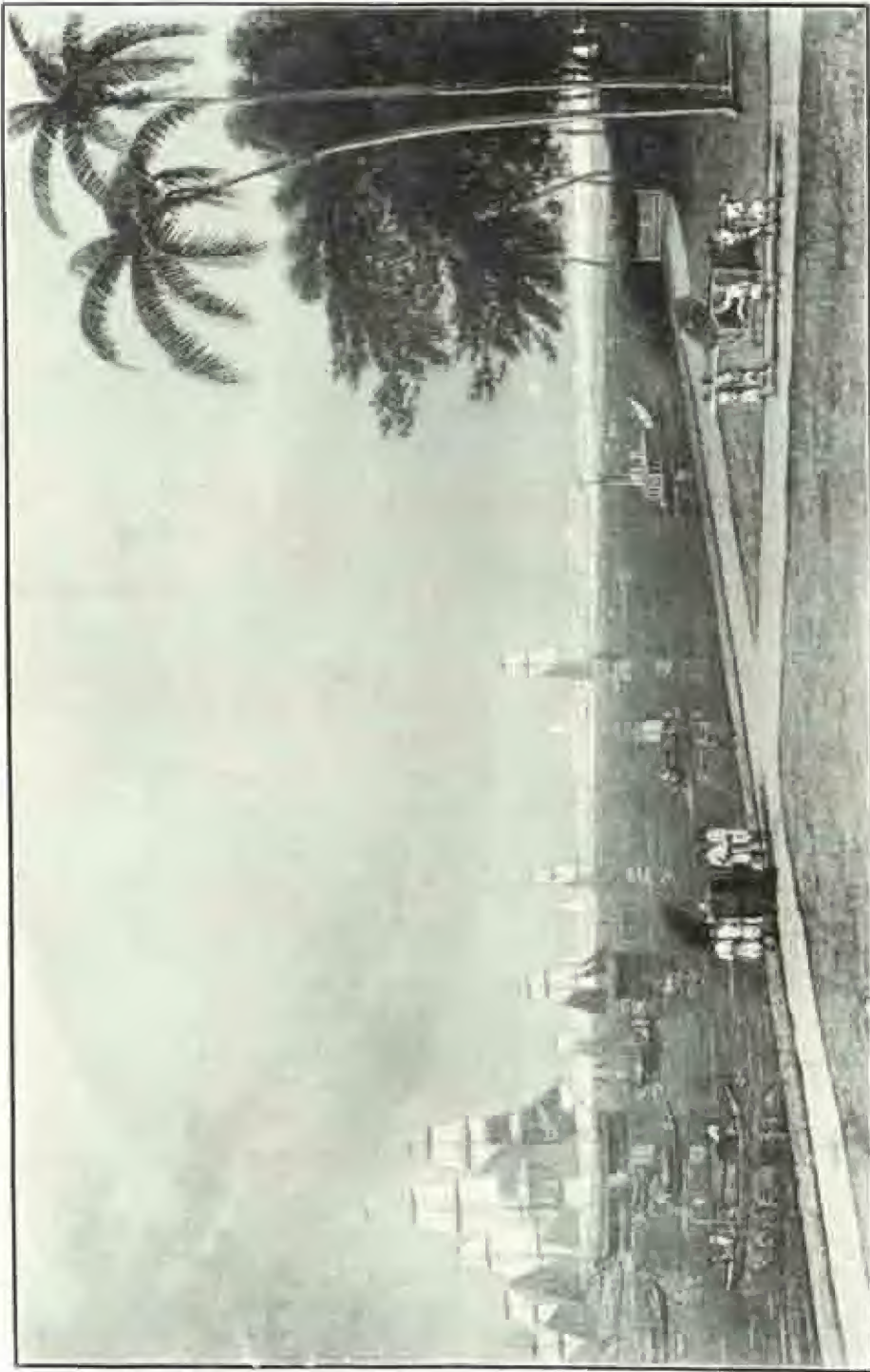
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View on Galleon,
from Galleon Beach, 1902.

GRAND PAL GHAT, 1707.



In Monghyr lives an old Musalman gentleman called Shah Fidah Ali, who keeps records of all the Musalman burials in the locality. He is usually to be found at the tomb of Pir Nafa, or Shah Nafa, near the west gate of the Fort. He had never heard of Ashraf, but when the name of Mulla Muhammad Saiyad was mentioned, he knew at once who was meant, and was able to point out the grave from the records in his keeping.

Ashraf's tomb is situated in the bastion at the western end of the riverside of Monghyr Fort; a high bastion, on the top of which may be seen a tomb. The lower part of the building now serves the undignified use of a kitchen. The actual burial-place, presumably, would be underground, below the room which is now a kitchen. No slab nor tablet marks the last resting-place of the poet Ashraf, where he lies forgotten by all but nature, when every evening the tomb is bathed in the glory of a sunset which it would be hard to equal in any part of Bengal.

(MRS.) N. C. O'REILLY.

[Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford, in his notes on Monghyr, gives the situation of Ashraf's tomb correctly. But he tells us that it was to Mrs. N. C. O'Reilly that he was indebted for the information. The poet's tomb should certainly be distinguished by a marble slab, with an epitaph both in English and Persian.—ED.]

To accompany the views of Calcutta from Garden Reach and Old Fort William, Mr. W. Corfields sends the following extracts from a *Picturesque Voyage to India by the way of China*. By Thomas Daniell, R.A., and William Daniell, A.R.A., London, 1810.

VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE (SIC) GARDEN REACH.

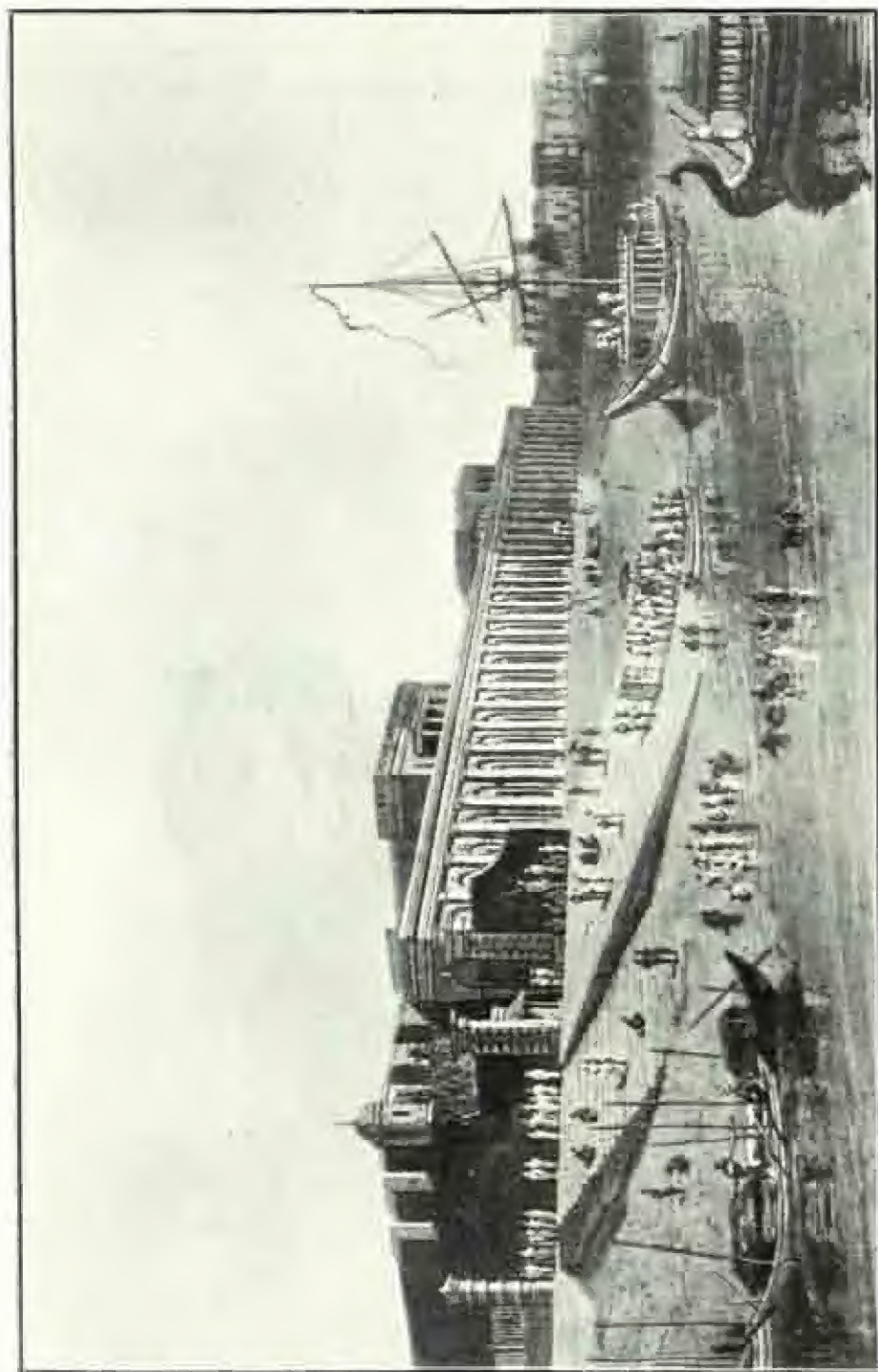
"Calcutta is situated in the part of Bengal called the Sunderbund, a woody peninsula, which from its triangular figure has acquired the appellation of the Delta of the Ganges. It is the Hooghly, the western branch of that magnificent river, which is here visible. A few miles below the town the stream becomes narrower, and at Garden Reach is but twice the breadth of the Thames at London. It is from a situation near this part the present view of Calcutta is taken. On the south side of the river is erected Fort William, part of which appears in the plate. Between the fort and the town is a broad walk called the Esplanade, and frequented by people of all descriptions for air and amusement. Contiguous to the Esplanade is the Government House, a superb edifice, approached by four colossal gates emblazoned with the Britannic arms. To the west of this palace appears the council house; and almost in the same line the new church. The buildings are covered with chunaur, a species of stucco possessing the delicacy and lustre of marble.

The houses at Calcutta are without chimneys, and have universally terrace roofs: those on the esplanade are insulated from each other, and approached by a flight of steps under a projecting portico; each is surrounded by a magnificent colonnade and has the air of a palace. The streets are spacious, and from the diversity of European and oriental manners, present a scene of inexhaustible variety and amusement. The chariot often comes in contact with the palankeen, and the phaeton is seen lightly rolling before the litter-like hackney, a covered cart slowly drawn by bullocks, and appropriated to the service of secluded females. Amidst the promiscuous concourse of people and equipages stalks a tall meagre crane, nicknamed the adjutant, which performs the useful office of scavenger, and is perfectly familiar with the inhabitants. This bird is remarkable for the slowness of its movements, and often stands on some roof, drooping its head with ludicrous solemnity, and looking as abstracted as a fakir at devotions. The river presents a scene of almost equal animation and variety."

OLD FORT GHAT, CALCUTTA.

"Within the walls of this fort is the Black Hole, whose name is eternized by the sufferings of Mr. Holwell and his ill-fated companions in 1756. The low range of buildings attached to the fort consists of warehouses belonging to the East India Company. The ghaut or flight of steps leading from the river is usually the landing-place, where strangers are immediately surrounded by palankeens and a train of natives importuning them to accept their respective services. Near this spot it is a daily practice with men, women and children to bathe promiscuously in the river; and Brahmins are here often seen performing their devotions. Calcutta rose about 120 years ago on the site (sic) of Cossimpoor, an inconsiderable Indian village, and was originally included in the small number of edifices adjoining the fort; but the splendour of the British arms produced a sudden change in its aspect, the bamboo roof suddenly vanished; the marble column took the place of brick walls; princely mansions were erected by private individuals; hospitals were endowed with royal munificence, and colleges with republican liberality. Calcutta is now the metropolis of British India, the seat of a powerful and prosperous empire, which has already communicated to those remote regions a portion of its national law and liberties; and is probably destined to disseminate those arts and sciences which have conferred such honourable distinction on the people of Europe."

THE letterpress at the foot of the view of Esplanade East facing page 383 of the last number is incorrect. The view bears evidence in the character of the uniforms of the soldiers that it was drawn long before the visit of



THIS GREAT CITY.
(From an Engraving by Thos. and W. Daniell, 1797.)

the present King-Emperor to India. It appeared in Nolan's magnificently illustrated *The British Empire in India from the earliest times to the suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny*, apparently published soon after the close of the Mutiny. The picture may have been drawn shortly after the completion of Government House and its lion gateways in or about 1803. The dome was then fully extant and bore what looks like the statue of Britannia, which was struck by lightning in the early morning of the 30th March 1838 (when Lord Auckland was Governor-General), and afterwards removed in consequence—the dome at the same time being reduced to its present dimensions. The statue is clearly indicated in views of Government House published before 1838—as for instance in Captain Jump's "Views in Calcutta" (1837) and Major J. A. Schach's "Plan of Calcutta and Environs" (1824-5).

The scene, though overdrawn, has a semblance of accuracy, and is probably one of the many exaggerated views of Calcutta which led to false impressions of the splendour of the place before the days of photography. H. M. Parker in *Chateaux en Espagne* may have had this particular picture in mind when he wrote:—

"The Palace City which he sketch'd
Into vast splendour starting,
Like one by Pirenisi etch'd
Or Babylonian Martin"—

Pirenisi being a celebrated etcher and Martin, the curator of many popular pictures, Biblical and classic, in which tremendous effects were produced by delineation of buildings and natural objects of abnormal size. "The Tower of Babel," "The Cup found in Benjamin's Sack," "God's wrath over Egypt," "The Passage of the Red Sea," "The Walls of Jericho fall down," "The Dedication of the Temple," "Mordecai's Triumph," "Esther's Feast," "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego," "Belshazzar's Feast," "The Fall of Nineveh," and "The Destruction of Jerusalem," are some of Martin's pictures before me as I write and (like his successor Doré) he certainly reveals himself as an artist of imagination.

May I suggest the early publication of a view of the same Esplanade just before the demolition of Moore and Company's shop a few years ago, with the old "Belati Bungalow" and its little round window at the top (indicated in the view facing page 383) as an interesting memento of late Victorian Calcutta?

DAK.

To his note on the Barretto family which appeared at page 366 of our last issue, K. N. D. adds the following with reference to individual members of

that ancient and interesting house :—Captain M. T. Barretto came to India so far back as 1505 in the fleet with Admiral Lopez Soarez. Francesco Barretto the nineteenth Governor of Portuguese India, was a brave and generous man. He died in 1558, and his remains were received at Lisbon by King Sebastian with extraordinary honours. Antonio Moniz Barretto, who died in 1576, was the twenty-sixth Governor of India. There was another dignitary of the name of J. N. Barretto, who had been appointed Patriarch of Æthiopia (the second in succession), but died at Goa about the middle of the sixteenth century, preparatory to his departure for Æthiopia. The above facts will be found in an out-of-the-way book entitled *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal, from the earliest settlement until the virtual conquest of that country by the English in 1757*. Calcutta, 1829.

AMONG the illustrations in the present number will be found one of the building for many years past occupied by the Doveton College, but shortly to be vacated by them. A letter over the signature of "Fitzwalter" giving the history of the school-house, once the residence of Sir John Royds (Judge of the Old Supreme Court) was reproduced in our April number.

E. W. M.





THE DWYETOWN COLLEGE
Photo. by W. E. Strange, Eng.



THE STATUE OF SIR ASHLEY EDEN
 ON THE SITE NOW OCCUPIED BY
 THE HOWELL MEMORIAL.
(Photo. by W. Corfield, Eng.)



THE DEVON INSTITUTE.



THE STATUE OF SIR STUART HALLIDAY
ON THE SITE NOW OCCUPIED BY
THE HOLWELL MEMORIAL.

Some Transactions of the Calcutta Historical Society.

THE JOB CHARNOCK DINNER.



THE 218th anniversary of Job Charnock's final settlement at Chutanuti on the 24th August 1690 was celebrated by the Society at Pelti's Restaurant, Calcutta, on Monday, the 24th August last (St. Bartholomew's Day), when over seventy members and guests met at dinner and observed the City's birthday in a fashion worthy of an occasion so interesting.

The *menu*, programme of music and toast list were enclosed in an artistic *souvenir* cover bearing the device of the Society and its motto: "Lest We Forget," and also facsimile autographs of Job Charnock and Sir R. F. Rampini. The *Nishan* of the Society occupied a prominent position at the south end of the table: after dinner a number of ladies attended to listen to the speeches. Sir R. F. Rampini (in the absence in England of the President, Sir Francis Maclean) occupied the chair. Sir Robert read a telegram from M. Léon Tardivel, the Mayor of Chandernagore, wishing those present a pleasant evening and regretting his inability to be present.

Among those present were H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andrew Fraser, with his A.-D.-C., the Maharaja of Burdwan, the Hon. Sir R. F. Rampini, Hon. Mr. Justice H. Holmwood, the Hon. Mr. Justice H. L. Stephen, the Hon. Sir Charles Allen, the Hon. Justice Cox, Mr. J. G. Cumming, I. C. S., Mr. Oscar T. Barrow, I. C. S., C. I. E., Mr. P. R. Cadell, I. C. S., Mr. Ahmed, I. C. S., Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Palin, Mr. P. Swan, the Hon. Mr. F. D. Larmour, Mr. L. G. Dunbar, Mr. G. L. Mukerjee, Mr. J. B. Crichton, Mr. E. W. S. Russell, Mr. P. K. Dobbin, Mr. J. H. Cohen Stuart, Mr. J. C. Chowdry, Mr. S. C. Williams, Mr. F. G. Dumayne, Mr. E. Berthoud, Mr. G. B. McNair, the Persian Consul-General, Mr. F. Campbell, Mr. E. W. Madge, Rev. W. K. Firminger, B. D., Mr. Jas. C. Mitchell (Honorary Secretary), the Hon. Mr. F. W. Duke, I. C. S., Mr. G. T. W. Olver, Mr. C. Champkin, Mr. W. Osgerby, Mr. B. Mundy, Mr. R. D. Mehta, C. I. E., Mr. A. E. Silk, Mr. M. N. Moltry, Mr. P. N. Mookerjee, Mr. O. Christ, Mr. W. H. Phelps, Mr. D. Hooper, the Rev. Canon T. E. F. Cole, LL. B., Mr. W. J. Simmons, Mr. Dudley B. Myers, Mr. W. Corfield, Mr. J. de G. Downing, Mr. P. L. Roy, Mr. J. G. Fleming, Lieutenant-Colonel

Buchanan, Mr. Syud Hussain, Mr. J. Goodman, Mr. A. E. Duchesne, Mr. W. Grossman.

After dinner, the Vice-President proposed the usual loyal toasts which were duly honoured. The next toast to these was to the pious memory of Job Charnock, and was proposed by

THE REV. W. K. FIRMINGER.

When a few minutes have passed by, it will be my privilege to ask you to rise and drink, in solemn silence, to the memory of the man who, after many years of faithful and fruitful service, in which he had been twice unjustly superseded, wearied often and exasperated by the long delays and deaf ears of unintelligent and frequently malicious superiors, weakened by constant fevers, exiled for long periods from the ministrations of the Church (which in his rough unemotional way he loved), tracked down by those animosities which in the midst of a mean, back-biting and venial throng, it is the highest honour to a ruler to court and challenge fearlessly,—after many a hardship and many an adventure—on a forlorn Sunday afternoon in the rains, this day two hundred and eighteen years ago, landed at Chutanuti, and there (if tradition may be followed) under a spreading *neem* tree, smoked the pipe of peace, and dreamed the dream of which this Capital City of India is the lasting, though ever changeable, embodiment.

The Calcutta Historical Society has every reason to congratulate itself on our present gathering. We are proud to have with us to-night both the ruler of this province (H. H. Sir Andrew Fraser), and the administrator of our civic affairs (Sir Charles Allen). These gentlemen may, both of them, claim, by right of apostolic success and succession, to rule us from Job Charnock's chair. If old Job, like another Rip Van Winkle, could after a slumber of more than two centuries, return and take his place here at our board, we can imagine how interested he would be to meet and converse with a Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal of the Twentieth Century. We might well imagine too how old Job's interest would turn into amazement, when His Worship, Job Charnock, found that His Honor, Sir A. Fraser, was totally unconcerned in such matters as the saltpetre at Pattana, the ambery calicoes of Lachowee, the silken quilts of Satgum, and that the precise difference between a "rasay" and a "zefferany" is not now-a-days a subject of conversation at Belvedere. He would have some strange questions, no doubt, to ask of our friend the Senior Presidency Chaplain. Our friend, Canon Cole, would be able to tell him that the Mausoleum wherein rest the mortal remains of Job himself and of two of his daughters has been well cared for and duly honoured by each successive generation. He would hear with satisfaction that the portrait of his old friend, the "boxy politic *pauvre*" and future Bishop of St. David's and Menth, is still hanging on the walls of the Vestry-room of St. John's Church. But, I imagine, he would smile a smile of pained amazement, and perhaps even of mistrust, when Canon Cole informed him that he (Canon Cole) had no particular interest in copper, sugar, or betel nut, and that when, in March next, after nearly a quarter of a century of life in India, he would leave Bengal, he would do so without having acquired a private fortune of his own.

Gentlemen, the toast to which I claim your attention is to the *pious* memory of the Founder of our City. We may congratulate ourselves on the fact that, after the work of the late Dr. C. R. Wilson, the adjective *pious*, in connection with this memory in particular strikes no wrong note. The memory of our Founder has been rescued from that murky mist of *humid* but obstinate myths by which it has been too long obscured. I take it that, when proposing a toast to the memory of the living-departed—for unto God all live—we use the

word "pious" in its classical sense as an equivalent for "dutiful." *Aeneas* was *pious*, because from the blazing streets of sacked and fallen Troy he bore away on his shoulders his ancient father; and the commemoration of our Founder is, in the same sense, an act of piety, since it well becomes the generation which inherits the fruits of Charnock's sufferings and endurance, to "praise great men and the fathers that begat us." It is no part of our duty either to be blind to the defects in a character, which was certainly not beyond reproach, or to praise where truth calls for censure; yet it is, in the strictest sense of language, an act of *piety* to do homage to all that was unselfish, faithful, hopeful, and brave in the man who chose for us the cradle of our Indian Empire. Sir Henry Yule has said "we cannot claim a high character for Charnock," but perhaps the truth has been best expressed, once and for all, by the great Christian scholar, whose name I have already mentioned, and whose words I will venture to quote:

"Charnock possessed the one rare but absolutely needful virtue of disinterested honesty, a virtue which must have been at this time difficult to retain; a virtue which must have raised up for him scores of secret enemies; a virtue which makes us slow to believe evil of one, who in spite of all petty detraction, will always occupy a place among those who have the sovereign honour of being founders of states or commonwealths. Coarse and sinful he may well have been, for he seems to have been imperfectly educated, and he passed an unprecedented length of years in Indian service. But for my part I prefer to forget the minor blemishes and to remember only his resolute determination, his clear-sighted wisdom, his honest self-devotion, and leave him to sleep on in the heart of the city which he founded, looking for his blessed resurrection and the coming of Him by whom alone he ought to be judged."

Gentlemen, I venture to think that this attitude to Charnock's memory will commend itself to your judgment. I will say more. I venture to express my conviction that the further we probe into the archives of the past, the more thoroughly we purge away the stains of interested calumny, and rid ourselves of the worthless tittle-tattle (miscalled tradition), we shall be rewarded by the real vision of our Civic Founder—a man with a mighty firmness of purpose, scorned but never disheartened by being either misunderstood or treated with injustice, capable of setting aside all private grievances and animosities, preferring his personal enemies to his friends when the affairs of state called for the sacrifice, and always more anxious to be on the side of the right than to have the right on his own side. I venture to predict that the voice of history will proclaim Charnock no unworthy predecessor to that great man, who in the darkest days which ever befel the fortunes of England beyond the seas, against the folly which cost us our political unity with America, gave to our race way to civilisation and humanity, the full fraught possibilities of the British Raj in India. It was in 1773, that Warren Hastings wrote of Calcutta: "I do not despair of seeing it the first place in Asia, if I live, and am supported for a few years longer."

For, Gentlemen, it is the verdict of those who have studied the records and familiarised themselves with all the circumstances of Charnock's choice of Chatanuth, that Job acted, not at haphazard, but that he made his decision deliberately, wisely, and well. You will remember the maxim which was prescribed for the contributors to the *Dictionary of National Biography*—"No flowers: by request." This evening (although I am myself about to transgress) we might perhaps say "No Rudyard Kipling by command." After all that has been written on the subject, there is no call for me to expose the fallacy of those familiar lines:

Once two hundred years ago the trader came, truck and team,
Where his stout foot has hallowed ground to roam,
Till now, trade
Threw to empire, and he sent his armies forth, South and North.

Till the country from Pookhar to Ceylon was his own
 Thus the mid-day heat of Charnock—soon's the play.
 Grew a city
 So it spread

Chance-directed, chance-directed, left and built, as the air—

There may be in these lines a truth not wholly unserviceable to those who make it their duty to hasten schemes of improvement, but the general theory of the lines is now, we may be thankful, a recognised fallacy.

I have alluded to the local myths about Charnock. The story of the rescue of the Hindu widow from *Sati*, I am afraid, is far too good capital for the poets to part with. "Dák," in this day's *Englishman*, has further decorated the topic which Dr. Norman Chevers graced in the alleged epitaph on the tombstone of Josiah Townsend. If the lady stood in need of rescue, let us hope that it was Job who did the deed; but I am afraid there are two quite contradictory versions of the story of how Charnock came by his Indian bride. Alexander Hamilton (a gentleman who by the way never said a good word for anyone if he could help it, and had a most powerful treasury of scandal at his command) tells the *Sati* story: Hedges tells us a very different tale. Both these gentlemen disliked Charnock. But, on the other hand, it is interesting and perhaps significant that in the baptismal registers at Madras, where the Baptism of Job's three daughters is recorded, the mother's name, contrary to custom, is not recorded.

It may be the fact that Charnock's closing years were not in accord with the strenuous manhood he had evinced in the days before he made his final halt at Chutanuti. When Sir John Goldsborough arrived, he found sad tales afloat about the late Chief's dissipated habits and laxity, and it was not foreign to Sir John's purpose to give those tales somewhat more than their full credit. But I venture to think that the man's whole career entitles us to be a little deaf to the gossip of interested detractors: and I venture to think that you will one and all agree with me that if handwriting is any indication of personal character, the firm clear signature of Job Charnock, which you have reproduced on your *memor*, in itself bears testimony to the clean mind of the man who penned it. It is worthy of the man, who led his little army out of Hijili, colours flying and drums beating, betwixt the ranks of an overwhelming and astounded enemy.

Disinterestedness and fidelity are the two great virtues for which we praise this great man who begat us. In Calcutta of to-day we are inclined to think highly of anyone who, during long years of arduous and responsible service, never once has failed to secure the warm approval of his employers. Such a man was Job Charnock. On one occasion, his masters in England write: "The experience we have of Mr. Charnock for 31 years past, and finding all that hate us to be enemies to him, having wrought such a confidence in our minds concerning him that we shall not, upon any ordinary suggestions against him, change our ancient and constant opinion of his fidelity to our interest." It would be easy to quote passage after passage from the old records to show that, despite all the malicious depreciations of the great agent sent home from Madras and elsewhere, the Company at home never swerved in their sense of Job's value. Well, then, has Sir W. Hunter said: "Charnock now stands forth in the manuscript records as a block of rough British manhood. Not a beautiful person perhaps, for the founders of England's greatness were not such as wear soft valment and dwell in king's houses; but a man who had a great and a hard task to do, and who did it—did it with small thought of self, and with a resolute courage, which no danger could daunt nor any difficulties turn aside. The masters who treated him so grudgingly knew his worth. He was in his lifetime 'honest Mr. Charnock,' no 'proowler for himself beyond what was just and modest.'"

Gentlemen, the place of our Founder's burial is in the heart of our city. In the charity which thinketh no evil, we honour that mausoleum as the resting place of one whose memory, obscured by the calumnies of his foes and the foolish gossip of back-guide writers, stands out now as a possession to be treasured by each generation of Calcutta men in its turn. His own children have placed on his walls the word "blessed Charnock," and this perhaps would have been the testimony his heart would have desired: "thy children shall rise up and call thee blessed."

THE HON. MR. F. D. LARMOUR.

The Hon'ble Mr. F. Larmour next proposed the toast of the Calcutta Historical Society. He said that when it was decided to do a thing, three reasons were generally assigned, and the present occasion proved no exception to the rule, for he had been told that there were three reasons for his proposing this toast. Firstly, because he was not a member of the Society, which was counted to him for righteousness, for had he been a member he would not then be addressing the Society; secondly, because he had once told a member that he had arrived in Calcutta in the early fifties and was therefore one of the "oldest residents" and, thirdly, because he knew little about historical research and any mistakes he might make would therefore be forgiven. Only a short time ago he was talking to a new arrival in the country and was expounding the glorious past, the condition of our roads before the advent of our City Fathers, how Bow Bazar and Bentinck Street used to be the most favoured and fashionable parts of the city, how the very house now occupied by the Commissioner of Police was the office and residence of one of the greatest commercial houses in India, and how the Government of India itself is said to have had its seat in the premises now occupied by Messrs. Llewellyn & Co. in Cosittollah, now Bentinck Street, whilst Alipore and Ballygunge were undesirable, unhealthy malaria-stricken distant suburbs; how people went out to dine at 6 o'clock in palkees accompanied by their choobdars, khitmutgars, hookahbadars and punkahwallahs, the last armed with huge palm leaf punkahs. Finding a ready listener, he became garrulous and reminiscent, and spoke of the imported ices at 8 annas a pound, of soda-water at Rs. 3 a dozen and Exshaw No. 1 at Rs. 6 a bottle; he even told of the time when there was no water laid on in pipes and all the drinking water was brought from the "Lal Dighee" tank. This was more than his listener could take in, and he burst out saying, "All the rest I can believe; but if you expect me to believe that any one ever drank water from the Dalhousie Square tank and survived to tell the tale, you trespass too far on my credulity, good bye." Mr. Larmour then recalled a well-known society, in fiction, in which one "Bill Stumps and his mark" played an important part, and went on to say that he also had discovered an important poem describing kings that had reigned in Bengal, of whom many are now seldom heard of. Mr. Larmour did not know if the original poem was in Sanskrit or English, but as he had seen it in the *Indian Charteau's Xmas Annual* of 1876 he concluded it must have been in English. It was called "Indian Herpes" and he read a few amusing extracts from the poem. Mr. Larmour then said: Turning to the Calcutta Historical Society itself, I think, gentlemen, I can offer you my sincere congratulations on the success that has attended your efforts. A little more than twelve months ago you started with only 75 members and I see from your annual report that on the 31st December last, you had no less than 205 members; at this rate of progression you will soon have everyone on your list and there will be no one left to enroll; during the period covered by your report you had only three resignations but you lost one of your most valued members by death, I refer to the late Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore. I am at one with your committee in suggesting that the sympathies of the Indian nobility and gentry

should be enlisted in your society, and I feel certain when your objects are more generally known you will have no difficulty in enrolling their names on your list. You have called yourselves the "Historical Society of Calcutta," which I consider very modest, for I see from your report that you do not confine yourself to Calcutta, but extend your operations to distant portions of Bengal: for besides your excursions to Achipore, Serampore, Hughli, and Chinnurah you have gone as far afield as Plassey, Berhampore and Cossimbazar. No one who has seen the last number of your journal, in which that excursion is dealt with, could have failed to be interested: it still lies on my table and has often enabled me to spend a pleasant half hour amongst your members in thought if not in body. I think, gentlemen, your journal should be and will be one of the chief features of your Society and I would urge on you to issue it as often as possible. The editorship is entrusted to one who takes an intense interest in his work, and if I know the man as well as I think I do, we may rely on having most interesting reading. Mr. Firminger is well known as one of the best literary ferrets in the country and the success of a journal entrusted to him is already assured. There is one more point only on which I would like to say a few words, that is the Preservation of Monuments is a most laudable object. It is no longer possible for us to excavate fresh caves of Elephanta or Ellora; we can no longer use public funds to build a Taj or Kutub Minar; we cannot vie with the glorious temples of Saranath or Madura to say nothing of the glorious buildings in Delhi and Agra, and many others that abound all over the country. To preserve these great monuments and many smaller ones, I think your Society may safely approach the Government: they seem with interest and their preservation will, so long as they last, help to keep alive the history of this country.

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE STEPHEN.

There is one duty of a pleasing kind which I have to perform before proceeding to any other task and that is (whether or no I am in order I don't care in the least) to propose that Mr. Larmour be elected a member of the Calcutta Historical Society. I have been chosen for the task of replying to this toast I presume because I have the peculiar good fortune of being your Vice-President elect. When many years ago certain enthusiastic but misguided people attempted to teach me a certain quantity of history, it was thrust upon me that it was absolutely necessary that history must be dull, or else it must be inaccurate. I understand that since that time further research has thrown some doubt upon that proposition. But how far that may actually be true I am not even in a position to guess and I hope that the Society will take some steps to investigate the matter. It is a question which might be referred to a small committee consisting of two very eminent journalists who are members of the Society. Of course we would have at the beginning to present them with one very obvious and striking fact—Mr. Firminger is neither dull nor inaccurate: he is, of course, thoroughly exceptional, and cannot be quoted in support of any particular rule. We all know that the possession of our Editor by the Society is really one chief claim, at all events, to posthumous fame, and when we pass from our brief and fleeting existence as historians to join the great majority about whom history is silent, our epoch such as it is, will no doubt be known as the Firminger epoch. Other gentlemen there are who will remain well known as public minded governors and citizens of Calcutta. One there is in particular whom I will mention and he is Sir Charles Allen. I mention him particularly because I have reason to believe that he has exerted his well deserved and personal influence in order to escape making a speech, but as the Historical Society we owe him a very great deal, not only for what he has actually done, but for what he has consistently attempted. Had he been able to carry out

his duties as Lord Mayor of Calcutta, unhampered by any extraneous circumstances, without the exigencies of finance, unmindful of the local Government and his Municipal colleagues, and regardless both of the letter and the spirit of the law—then I am sure he would no doubt have made ninety-nine hundredths of the Calcutta we know a matter of history. We should have had the spirit of Mr. Firminger hovering over a great mass of ruins. It is ruins that Calcutta wants for the Historical Society to dwell upon. Sir Charles Allen is just the man to make them and very much more too. For myself, I cannot claim any great allegiance to the charge of mere learning and knowledge, but this I feel—and I know in this I shall have the sympathy of my fellow members—that we all wish to realise the fact that our predecessors were not mere names in a story but that they were men with wishes, with feelings, and with ambitions like ourselves. We also wish that our successors should have some of the same kind of feeling for them that we have ourselves. As far as Calcutta is concerned our chief wish is that our successors may prove as worthy of the position we hope they will hold as our predecessors were worthy of theirs.

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE HOLMWOOD.

It is my pleasing duty to propose the next toast which is the health of the Patrons of the Calcutta Historical Society. According to a somewhat satirical letter which appeared in the newspapers the other day, we are all of us charged with patronising history from a lofty and exalted platform where our deliberations are said to have a more gastronomic than scientific and practical interest. Those who see us to-night might be misled into endorsing this libel. But I think, gentlemen, you will agree with me that the investigation of distant and half forgotten fields of history naturally produces a physical as well as an intellectual hunger, and those who have sent our pioneers, many of them ladies, going long distances in trains, in boats, and even on elephants, as well as walking miles in the sun will readily admit that their attitude was more practical than patronising, and that they fully earned the excellent breakfasts and dinners which our friends, Mr. James Luke and Mr. Firminger have provided for them. But our actual patrons are not those who patronise history but they are among those who make history. We have our present Viceroy and Governor-General, Lord Minto, and our late Viceroy, Lord Curzon, than whom no one is more heart and soul in sympathy with the objects of our Society. Then we have our Lieutenant-Governor, whom we all greatly rejoice to see amongst us to-night, and I shall have to call upon him for a few words in answer to this toast—words which I know will be eloquent as well as sympathetic as Sir Andrew Fraser's words always are.

Our Chief Justice, Sir Francis Maclean, will, by his commanding presence, fill a very large niche in the history of Calcutta and in addition to being a Patron he is also the able and energetic President of this Society. Lord Avebury, who is better known to most of us as Sir John Lubbock, has devoted as much of his great intellect to the elucidation of the history of man as he has to that of bees, which is saying a good deal. Lord Reay, whom you knew as a former Governor of Bombay, has, since his return to England, been foremost in his support of all Societies that have for their object the advancement of Indian interests. And before leaving our Patrons in England I would ask you to do especial honour to the name of that "fine old English gentleman," Doctor Henry Elmsley Busteed, the fourth edition of whose book on Calcutta is now on its way to us. Though he has retired for, I believe, more than twenty years he has never lost his deep interest in Calcutta and I think I may say, with all respect to our other local historians, that Dr. Busteed's book will always be the most valuable as it is the most popular history of this city.

As is most fitting in a city whose history has been largely elucidated and preserved by the untiring and too often insufficiently acknowledged labours of her clergy, the names of the Metropolitan in India, who presides over the diocese of Calcutta, and of the learned Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, appear among our most valued Patrons.

While of distinguished Indian noblemen we have the Maharajah of Cooch Behar, the Maharajah of Durbhanga, the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, who is descended from a line of Mohamedan rulers, whose history is intimately bound up with that of Calcutta not always to the gratification of the inhabitants of the latter city, and last but not least I would mention the Maharaj Adhiraj Rejoy Chand Mahatab Bahadur of Burdwan, whose name I have reserved to the end; firstly, because you cannot have failed to notice him if he is anywhere about, for he will require a larger niche in history than even our President, a niche which we are all convinced from his early promise he will most worthily fill, and secondly because I have been asked to associate his name with this toast and to call upon him for a reply which I have the greatest pleasure in doing.

H. H. THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor said: I feel myself, I was going to say, rather in a mess, but that may perhaps be regarded as hardly appropriate on an occasion like this, but what I mean is rather in a maze. I don't precisely understand the position. In accordance with a well known custom in Calcutta—not long before coming to this dinner—I received a friendly and a kindly letter asking me for a copy of my speech. I wrote to my friend that I was glad to be able to inform him that I had an evening of ease and want of care before me. I had no idea I would be called upon to make a speech at all. When I came here I found that the reply to the toast of the health of the Patrons of the Society was to be made by the Maharaj Adiraj of Burdwan, I am stepping into his place and it is not at all a position that I want to occupy. I don't precisely know why I should be where the Maharaj Adhiraj of Burdwan ought to be, and I am glad to know that it is only temporarily that I occupy his place. He is to follow me. Then, after the toast has been proposed, I am told we are to hear the song of a "Fine Old English gentleman" and to have our attention drawn by that song to the venerable Dr. Buxted. It seems as if all the world be sad and weary, everywhere I roam. I find myself next to my friend, Mr. Firminger, who started off his most delightful speech with thoughts of how like I am to Job Charnock—a man who, worn out with his work, weary of the criticisms of his superiors, throws himself down under a *neem* tree. How fully can I enter into Job Charnock's feelings. Then he goes on ruthlessly to separate me altogether from Job Charnock. He mentions every subject of knowledge worth knowing and states that Charnock knew them all and that the present Lieutenant-Governor knows none of them. Then he goes on to tell me that there is an intimate connection between Charnock and me after all because I sit in this chair or rather I occupy half of it along with a man, who, I am perfectly prepared to say, is ready to dispute the larger half. Altogether I am in a state of confusion as to where I stand. I have listened with the greatest delight and attention to the speeches made by the members of the Historical Society—I include the member just elected, Mr. Larmour; I have felt how thorough their knowledge is and have become more and more humble; and I have tried to make my ears as large as I can, and the rest of my body as small as I can so that I may hear all that has been said. And after I have got to the very depth of my humility I am proposed as a Patron of the Society. The position is too awful for me to deal with, and I am glad it is left to my stalwart friend, the Maharaj Adhiraj of Burdwan to reply. There is one thing I would like to say about the Society. I have watched, with the greatest interest—the enthusiasm

of the Society. It has been one of the best things we have seen how this Society is getting on, how thoroughly alive the members have been, how some of the members have worked their very best, and what a splendid magazine Mr. Firminger has produced. I am perfectly sure that those who have had anything to do with the starting of the Society have good reason to be proud of this little piece of work. I thank you heartily, gentlemen, for the manner in which this toast has been received. I thank you on behalf of your Patrons for the manner in which you have received their names. I thank you especially for the kindly feeling shown in receiving my name. I thank you again, after an illness, for your kindly sympathy which I have felt very much, and for the way you have welcomed me back. I can assure you it is a very great pleasure that I am so thoroughly recovered as to be able to be present with you this evening. I should have deeply regretted it if I had been absent from this the first—I was going to say historical—dinner of the Calcutta Historical Society.

THE MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN.

When I received an invitation for this festive dinner, I did not realise at the time that I was to be called upon to make a speech on behalf of the Patrons of this Society. However, I am thankful to our esteemed friend, the Lieutenant-Governor, for having thanked you all for the very kind manner in which you have drunk the health of the Patrons of the Society. This Society has a great future before it. With the long excursions that it undertakes, not only does it do work of research, not only does it do the work of instruction, but it also cements the *entente cordiale* between those of the land and those who have chosen India as their adopted land, a perfect good feeling which is so very necessary at all times and especially now. The duties of the Patrons of this Society are very grave and responsible ones, for as my friend, Mr. Justice Holmwood, said "we are called to be makers of history." India is a land of history and tradition and I trust that, in years to come, when this Historical Society of Calcutta has spread itself and become the Historical Society of India, with branches all over India, that it will be making history that those who come after us may be still proud of. I trust that as a patron of this Society, I shall be able to further the interests of this most interesting Society in a way that will be not only valuable to the Society, but also instructive to myself. I was glad to find my friend, Mr. Justice Holmwood, make a reference to a man who has left the shores of India, but who has the interests of India close to his heart. In the words of Kipling "he may have hustled the East," but I think the Historical Society will, when they go on with their share of the work, find they owe a great deal to Lord Curzon. I don't think any Viceroy has ever taken such an interest in the beautiful monuments which India possesses, and I trust that every member of this Society will follow his example and show a lively interest in the ancient monuments of India. I cannot help joining the chorus of approval about the excellent magazine that this Society is bringing out, and I am sure that, in the hands of its present Editor, it will go on becoming more and more interesting to those that take any true interest in historical associations. In conclusion, I thank you all on behalf of my humble self, as well as the other Patrons of the Society, for having drunk our health so enthusiastically.

THE REV. CANON T. E. F. COLE.

It is my proud privilege that the "most grave, reverend and potent signours" of this learned Society have entrusted me with the toast of our Vice-President, the Hon'ble Chief Justice Rampini, who is about to leave for ever this great "City of the plain."

I may mention, as one excuse for efficiency in carrying out my task, that there is an understanding between the Vice-President and myself that what I say shall be brief, sweet, not hydraulic as to his departure, nor an X-raying of his virtues. Being subjected to such limitations, and with a further handicap which a humble individual feels through being connected even for an occasion with august persons and things, I feel like the cobbler at the political discussion. "This 'ere demonstration is a two-edged sword; if we play with it we shall have our fingers burnt." The safest thing is to allow one's remarks to be as slender and unanalytical, as the conversation between the two friends who recongled each other half-way across the English Channel:—"Hallo, old man, going across?" "Yes, I think so, old chap." It did very well for the occasion!

Gentlemen,—This erudite Society seemed to spring like a Minerva fully equipped and famous from the brain of that Jupiter, Mr. Firminger, whose head seems to seethe with Leagues, Societies and other ready-made Minervas. But even youthful Minerva requires a chaperone; and our distinguished Vice-President, by his generosity and genial kindness, by his personal acquaintance with the districts of Bengal and the deep respect and affection in which he is held there, by his devotion to the Society's mission to demonstrate the interests of life, delighting the mind by its provision of literature, or recreation and educative tours, has earned the sincere thanks of this Society and the public for its not having resulted in the mere "sailing of a little paper boat" which some predicted, but for the success which has attended its operations and guarantees for its valuable future. The Society must always remember the Hon'ble Chief Justice Rampin's name with "Maxima Reverentia."

Gentlemen,—The near approach of our honoured Vice-President's departure makes some of us elder ones reflect *Eheu! fugaces, posthuma, posthuma, labuntur anni!* does it not? But when we remember the land to which he is going we have this consolation, in the words of a Wiltshire epitaph:

"Her shall not return to we,

"But us do hope to go to she!"

No doubt some street or square of Calcutta will be honoured hereafter with our Vice-President's name; but one rests assured that no such incident in connection with it can take place as that of the two cockneys in a continental hotel where the waiter recommended the Chianti, and one replied that he wished to drink Boticelli; and on the disappearance of Alphonse, the other reproached his friend thus: "You owl, Boticelli is not a wine, but a cheese."

But before wishing our Vice-President adieu, I know that he will not think unkindly of me for repeating an old and, I hope, forgiveable joke. I deferentially assure him that it is solely *propter sententiam postprandiatam* and with no reflection intended on his honoured profession; and passable, I acknowledge, only at a late stage of this memorable wake. I expect him to have a dig at me in return with some similar pleasantry. It has been said that a lawyer goes into the profession to get on; he goes on with it to get honour, and he goes out of it to get honest. Our Vice-President has reached the comparative degree safely, on which we offer him our heartfelt and respectful congratulations; he has "carried his bat" with dignity and success and is still "not out;" everyone glad about his knighthood. We are privileged to-night to offer him respectfully our best *take* for the long enjoyment of that superlative degree of happiness, which he has won too now. Freed from professional responsibility we trust that he will enjoy, with his loved ones for many a year, the humour of things, the joys of rose-growing, excellence at that "game of King's croquet," to which he

is addicted already; the acquisition, if he so chooses, of delightful, if useless, knowledge, pleasure in objects of art, above all the cultivation, more than ever, of Things Divine, amid the retired contemplative lawns and glades and panelled halls of his fatherland.

THE HON. SIR ROBERT FULTON RAMPINI.

I assure you I greatly appreciate the honour paid me to-night in drinking my health, and I am grateful to Canon Cole for the kind terms in which he has proposed it. Canon Cole has indulged in some good-natured pleasantries at the expense of my name and my profession. This is not surprising. It is quite natural, for we all know, and rejoice to know, that our friend Canon Cole is a "merry old soul." If he has not already called for his "pipe" he will do so presently. His "bowl" I see he has before him, and I hope he is enjoying himself. As for his "fiddlers three," Mr. Lobo has provided more than that number. But I must say a word in defence of my profession, which I venture to think has advantages over even that high vocation to which Canon Cole has been called. For, if Canon Cole were ever to express a pious prayer that any should be eternally condemned; which, of course, he would never do, there would be no certainty as to whether his wishes were complied with, whereas if I said to a man "You be hanged," the odds are 10 to 1 that he would be. Canon Cole, in his more serious moments, has overwhelmed me with praises for my labours in connection with the Calcutta Historical Society, but I do not feel that I deserve all the kind things which he has said. I assure you it has been a matter of pure unalloyed pleasure to me to act as Vice-President of the Calcutta Historical Society. I make over my office with regret even to the more capable hands of my brother Stephen. I have thoroughly enjoyed all the expeditions in which I have taken part. I leave Calcutta with the greatest regret. It has its disadvantages as a place of residence, among which I would mention its awful heat in the hot weather, its exorbitant and ever-rising house rent, its anarchists with their bombs and threatening letters, and its rapidly increasing number of motor-cars. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, it is yet, in the words of St. Paul "no mean City," full of historical associations, and of charming people—which goes without saying—for is it not the abode of the members of the Calcutta Historical Society? It is a place, too, where if you stay long enough as I have done, almost everyone of note in the world will sooner or later pay you a visit. It is, further, a great centre of commercial activity, where I am told fabulous fortunes are easily made by speculating in coal shares. I first came to Calcutta in 1864, just after the cyclone of October of that year. The city was then in ruins. But the great feature of Calcutta that struck me on my arrival was the never ending noise of the creaking of the wheels of bullock-carts. There was then no bye-law compelling carters to grease the wheels of their carts, and the strident and ear-piercing creaking of the wheels of carts began early in the morning and went on without cessation till night-fall. Then, the streets were crowded with *palanquins*, which in these days were quite as respectable means of conveyance as *ticca* gharias are now. The *palki* bearers lay in wait at the corner of the streets, and literally mobbed and carried off his legs the unwary pedestrian. But the most objectionable feature of Calcutta in these days was the filthy state of the bye-streets. There were then no covered drains, and the state of the bye-streets, even such respectable thoroughfares as Middleton Street, Harrington Street, and Elysium Row, was such that no one could walk on foot in them. Adjutant birds then sat on the tops of the houses in the day time, and they and jackals did the work of scavengers at night. Present residents of Calcutta can have no idea of how much they owe to the Corporation, which has transformed the town into, if not a "City of Palaces," yet a city of clean streets where people can live and breathe and follow their various callings without much discomfort or danger to

their lives. The transformation in the state of the streets of Calcutta that has taken place since 1864 is as great as the improvement in the roads of the Highlands which was effected by the labours of General Wade. You may remember the lines—

" Had you seen these roads before they were made,
You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade."

The danger of motor-cars is, however, increasing. I fear the residents of Calcutta may soon be in as parlous a state as the people of London, where I am told, owing to the number of motor-cars and motor 'buses that go rushing madly about, creating havoc wherever they go, people are now divided into two classes—the quick and the dead.

I shall leave Calcutta next Thursday night with a heavy heart. I shall be very sorry to say good-bye to my friends, both European and Indian, particularly to the members of the Calcutta Historical Society in whose company I have spent many pleasant and happy days. I feel sure that next cold weather, when, amid the fogs and cold of my native land, I shall, according to Canon Cole's prediction, be playing "King's croquet" (I don't know what that is, but I hope it is nothing very bad). I shall envy you your bright sunny days and your glorious atmosphere. I shall envy you those delightful expeditions which you will make personally conducted by Mr. Firminger. I shall be with you in the spirit on these expeditions, and I shall eagerly look for an account of your doings in the most interesting pages of *Bengal: Past and Present*.





THE MAGISTRATE'S HOUSE AT ARRAH.
(Photo by E. Frost Fox, Esq.)



REMAINS OF THE BRIDGE OVER THE NAGRI NALA.
(Sketch by A. de Cossin, Esq.)



THE MANGAL HUT MOSQUE.
(Plate by A. de Casson, Esq.)



MOSQUE AT MANGAL HUT, NEAR RAJMAHAL.
(Plate by A. de Casson, Esq.)

The Secretary's Pages.



THE publication of historical records is, of course, one of the primary objects of the Society. The Executive Committee, by way of experiment, has sanctioned the publication of a Special Memoir on the subject of the Massacre of Patna in 1763. It is much to be hoped that this step will be justified by the support it receives from the members of the Society and that funds will be available for further attempts to place the old records at the disposal of students.

MR. BROOK FOX sends us a photograph of the "little house at Arrah" as it is in the present year of grace. The story of that historic house is too well known to need repetition here.*

Mr. A. de Cosson sends us some interesting views:—

1. A pencil sketch of all that is left of the bridge over Nagrinala about three miles from Arrah—the scene of Captain Dunbar's disaster and death, followed as it was by the heroism which won the V.C. for two Indian Civilians—McDonnell and Ross Mangles.

2. Moti Thanna Waterfall near Sakrigali in the Sonthal Pergannas—Mr. de Cosson writes: "Wm. Hodges painted it between 1778 and 1784 and visited it with Cleveland."

3. Two photographs of the Mosque of Mangal Hat near Rajmahal. "Hodges drew this too, and his letterpress shows that it lodged Adams after the victory of Udwanala. It has been repaired by the Government, and lies on the old 'river road' from Murshidabad to Monghyr and beyond,

* It may however be worth while to record here that Hereward Cranford Wake died on 19th December 1901. A newspaper of the time wrote: "Mr. Hereward Cranford Wake, whose death is announced in our mail telegram, is best known to fame as 'Wake of Arrah.' Entering the Bengal Civil Service in 1831, he was Collector of Shalabad when the Mutiny broke out. The little billiard-room in the compound of the Judge's house at Arrah, which was so pluckily defended by him and the little band of district officials, is still to be seen. The episode forms one of the most gallant of the many gallant episodes of the Mutiny years, and it will be long before the heroism of Wake and Boyle and Colvin is forgotten. The history of the siege has been described with extraordinary vividness by Sir George Trevelyan in his *Compellion—1858*, but the daily diary written by Wake on the wall 'at any moment in case we should be scuttled' was many years ago obliterated by the ruthless whitewash of an ignorant 'restorer.' It may be found reproduced in full in Sir Monier Williams' *Memorials of Old Hallybury College*. Mr. Wake, who was born in 1828, was created a C.B. for his services and retired on account of ill-health so long ago as 1864."

along which many armies passed besides Adams'. This road is fast disappearing in parts."

The Society has to express its thanks to Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co. for the coloured reproduction of Daniel's view of Chandpal Ghat in 1797. The large house with towers on the Howrah side of the River was the home of the Royal Military Orphanage before that institution was transferred to Kidderpore. The Society is also indebted to Messrs. Thacker, Spink for the excellent portrait of Surgeon-General H. E. Busteed which decorates the present number.

A FEW copies of Mr. Majumdar's *Musnud of Murshidabad* are still in the hands of the Secretary for sale to members of the Society at the reduced price of Rs. 3-12. The book is full of interesting illustrations, and is the only adequate guide book to the city of which it may be truly said that the British Raj was born there.

VERY many of the members of the Society were unable to avail themselves of the opportunity of visiting Plassey last cold weather. If a party of no less than sixty can be got together, it is proposed that Plassey should be revisited in December or January next. Mr. Firminger is of opinion that it would be best to devote the whole day this time to the inspection of the battlefield and not attempt to add Berhampore to the programme.

ABOUT the same time as the present issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* appears, the reprint of Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* will make its appearance. As this work is published under the auspices of the C.H.S., it is but natural that I should express the hope that the 500 copies, which have been printed, will find a rapid sale. The publishers are Messrs Thacker, Spink & Co. If this effort justifies itself, the Editor hopes to follow up the publication of Mrs. Fay by a companion volume made up chiefly of the hitherto unpublished letters of one of Mrs. Fay's friends—Captain John O'Donnell of the Privateer *Death or Glory*.





MOTE TIAMA WATERFALL, NEAR SAKENALI,
SOUTHERN PERUVIA,
(Photo by A. de Cazan, Eng.)



NEW MEMBERS.

NAMES.	ADDRESSES.	DATE OF MEMBER- SHIP 1908.
Bartels, A. E. ...	19, Radha Bazar ...	3rd Sept.
Bayley, C.S.I., I.C.S., Sir Chas. S. ...	Lieutenant-Governor, Eastern Bengal and Assam.	15th July.
Berthoud, E. ...	48, Chowringhee ...	21st August.
Clement, W. S. ...	49, Messrs. Bird & Co. ...	8th Sept.
Dobbin, F. K. ...	233, Lower Circular Road ...	3rd August.
Hamilton, Sir D. M. ...	16, Strand Road ...	5th Sept.
Hoffmann, T. I. ...	22, Chowringhee ...	10th "
Lala Jajprokash Nandi of Buxtown ...	9, Guria Hal Road, Hallyganje ...	26th August
Larmour, The Hon'ble F. A. ...	60, Bentinck Street ...	28th "
Langley, F. A. S. ...	14, Old Court House Street ...	3rd "
McLeod, Norman ...	31, Dalhousie Square ...	29th "
Makesjee, M.I.R.T., G.L. ...	9, Old Post Office Street ...	12th "
Murphy, Capt. C. C. R. ...	Suffolk Regiment ...	3rd Sept.
O'Kinsale, I.M.S., Major F. ...	49, Messrs. King Hamilton & Co. ...	24th August.
Peal, S. J., The Rev. F. ...	The Presbytery, Darjeeling ...	21st July.
Ridley, H. B. ...	South British Insurance Co. ...	11th "
Vincent, W. H. ...	Ranchi ...	30th "
Yeoman, H. F. ...	1, Commercial Buildings ...	29th August.

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